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# EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
## UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JUNE 16, 1983

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# EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1983

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:08 a.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Charles H. Percy (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Percy, Pressler, and Pell.

The CHAIRMAN. This is one of the hearings that I have really looked forward to because I remember with tremendous pleasure and a great sense of pride the first hearing that we held at which time the Committee on Foreign Relations met to hear the activities of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

This morning's hearing is for the purpose of updating ourselves on the activities of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. The hearing that we held in 1976 thoroughly discussed their activities as of that time. I found the session instructive and, therefore, I am pleased to have the chance to review the Council's program again at a time when you are adding new services.

I think it was the only time in the 17 years that I have been in the Senate when I wrote out a check at the end of the hearing because they did not ask for any money. The program is supported entirely with private financing and I felt that it was a very noble and worthy cause.

Over the years that I have observed the Executive Council, I have been profoundly impressed with the contribution that it does make to the United States of America and makes in a unique way. The Council does not receive a penny of taxpayers' money, yet it provides a very real benefit to our country.

For this reason, I believe more Americans should be aware of your activities, and it is for that reason that we wanted to make this record here this morning. Certainly, I would like to summarize the hearings so that they can be inserted in the Congressional Record and then sent out to a broad mailing, in addition to the 100,000 people that I am sure read every word in the Congressional Record the next day it comes out.

We are particularly fortunate this morning to have our dear friend and highly respected former colleague with whom we worked so closely, Warren Christopher, former Deputy Secretary of State. We also have Jim Stoutenberg, Executive Director of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. He has with him an interesting cross-section of friends of ours and outstanding citizens, to discuss the various aspects of the Council's programs.

Perhaps, Jim, before you start I should say that the activities of the Council are today, under these critical conditions, even more important and timely than ever before. Many of the foreign diplomats being stationed in Washington simply do not have time or the opportunity to get away from their representational duties here in Washington. Many of them have complained to me that the pressure of the work they are involved in does not give them the time to get an overall perspective on the United States as a country and as a people.

Without being critical of the diplomatic circuit in Washington, it is obvious that it does not allow the time for participants to really get to know what we consider the real United States of America. The programs of the Council help them to get to know Americans from many walks of life, get them to hear in an informal atmosphere expressions from Americans about how they feel about their country, and to learn more about the diversity of the United States, and to see some of its grandeur as well.

I am convinced that your programs help foster much better appreciation, much better understanding of this country by foreign diplomats. The foreign diplomats who participated are the best to give testimony to that.

This is particularly important in these times of international tension, but also very much appreciated, because it is an expression of American voluntarism at its very best. Some descriptive material about the program will be entered in the record at this point.

[The information referred to follows:]

STATEMENT FROM SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

From my past service on the Board of Overseers of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats it is apparent that I have a high regard for the Council's work with the Department of State, foreign diplomats and the American people.

This communication among American citizens, their government and representatives of foreign governments may well be unique in the world. It offers a framework through which foreign diplomats can know in depth the country in which they serve. It gives Americans opportunities to broaden their understanding of international affairs. It provides a voice from the private sector of America to the Department of State that is important to the conduct of foreign policy.

To this end, I endorse and recommend the new Briefing Program the Council will offer to all newly arriving diplomats accredited to the United States to enable them to familiarize themselves with aspects of American life pertinent to their official duties. It is an important adjunct to existing programs concerned with specialized issues of foreign investment and finance, or programs which introduce foreign diplomats to a broad range of activities showing the American way of life.

Business leaders who govern the Council, together with those in the private sector who support the program, have my great appreciation for their contribution to constructive discussion and fuller understanding between Americans and other peoples of the world.

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BACKGROUND OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

PURPOSE

The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats is America's private sector briefing program for foreign diplomats posted in Washington, D.C., and New York City. The Council is a non-profit educational organization funded entirely by contributions from American corporations, foundations and individuals. Although it receives no government funds of any kind, the Council has since its beginning been

endorsed at the highest levels by the executive and congressional branches of the American government. It is therefore sometimes referred to informally as the Secretary of State's private sector briefing program for foreign diplomats.

The Council's origins go back to 1962 when private citizens founded the organization at the request of the Department of State with the special help of Adlai Stevenson, then United States Ambassador to the United Nations. The State Department and Ambassador Stevenson wanted foreign diplomats and Americans introduced to each other in regions of the country beyond Washington and New York and felt that a program of this kind was best undertaken by a private organization free from political constraint or purpose.

Over the years the Council's programs evolved to focus on the changing issues and interests which foreign diplomats and Americans seek to better understand from one another. Until 1977, the organization was officially called The Travel Program for Foreign Diplomats, emphasizing the "people moving" nature of its programs. In 1977 the organization adopted its present name, which reflects the special purpose and in-depth direction of new program development. But during the course of its 21-year history, the Council's guiding purpose has remained the same—to brief diplomats about the American system, not by officials in Washington, but by ranchers, farmers, local civic and political leaders, factory workers, business executives and other Americans from all walks of life, in their homes, schools and places of work.

## Executive Council Programs and 1983 Schedule

### *Briefings on U.S. Foreign Policy Formation*

Foreign diplomats newly posted to Washington generally find our political system quite different from home government and difficult to understand, particularly the separation of powers and numerous points of access to the system. Since they work daily with our government and must be able to report accurately on U.S. policy, it is essential that they have a working knowledge of how American foreign policy is made.

#### THE MAKING OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, OCTOBER 19–21, 1983, THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY

The Council's first American foreign policy briefing will be launched in the fall of 1983 in cooperation with Fletcher in a program focusing on the lobbying and budget process and the media. Embassies in Washington are working with the Council to send new members of their diplomatic staffs to participate in the program, which is expected to be offered at least twice each year thereafter. The October program will be followed by a Regional Briefing Program on New England from October 21–23 so diplomats can contrast what they have learned at Fletcher with foreign policy formation at the American grass roots.

### *Regional Briefing Programs*

These programs for foreign diplomats in different regions of the United States have been the Council's cornerstone program since it began in 1962. They have been restructured in 1982 and 1983 with a challenge grant of $150,000 from the Ford Foundation and matched by Getty Co., Sperry Corp., Pepsi Co., and new foundation contributors. The program continues to take place in communities across the country and is now being tailored to the agricultural, industrial or other area specialty of diplomats newly posted to Washington. Diplomats see for themselves the American way of life, local government, the political thinking of Americans, the economy in action at corporate headquarters and on assembly lines, the latest technology of farming and ranching—in short, U.S. foreign policy at the grass roots.

#### CALIFORNIA REGIONAL BRIEFING PROGRAM, APRIL 14–21, 1983

Diplomats and their spouses spent a week in the nation's most populous state (24,000,000 people) and reputed to have the eighth largest "GNP" in the world ($373,400,000,000). The diplomats began by taking part in a conference on Financing Recovery from Global Recession with Los Angeles business executives. They learned about the construction and operation of space satellites at a rarely seen satellite manufacturing facility, were guests of Mickey and Minnie Mouse at Disneyland, spent a weekend in the homes of families living in the

Sierra Nevada gold rush country, learned about the technology of modern, family-managed farming, witnessed the assembly of state-of-the-art computers in Silicon Valley, and were informed first hand about the latest advances in the California wine industry.

WESTERN WAGON TRAIN, AUGUST 4–20, SAN FRANCISCO TO GREAT FALLS; AUGUST 29–SEPTEMBER 9, GREAT FALLS TO SAN FRANCISCO

Two groups of foreign diplomats and their families (30 families totalling approximately 150 people) will wagontrain by motor home through the American West in August, 1983. They will spend time with and see a range of Americans and American life, from Great Falls, Montana, to San Francisco, California. They will learn about agriculture by helping Montana ranchers harvest and perform other chores, camp with Americans in state and national parks, stay in the homes of local families in fishing and lumbering communities along the Oregon coast, camp by the vineyards of the Napa Valley and learn about the American wine industry, and circle up in Kezar Stadium during their visit to San Francisco.

PENNSYLVANIA REGIONAL BRIEFING PROGRAM, OCTOBER 6–9, 1983

Diplomats and spouses will visit Lancaster, where high school students, as part of civics and history courses, will accompany them to sites of important events in American history, introduce them to the Amish to see a radically different way of farming and living within a larger industrial society, and carry out a press conference on international issues, utilizing diplomats and local media. The diplomats will travel to Chadd's Ford and the Brandywine River Museum and Brandywine Conservancy, to see the works of the Brandywine River Artists—N. C. Wyeth, Frank Schoonover, Andrew Wyeth, Peter Hurd and others—and learn about the environmental management programs of the Conservancy. They will live with host families, take part in community life and have opportunities to visit the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, in nearby Delaware, with its collection of Americana.

NEW ENGLAND BRIEFING PROGRAM, OCTOBER 18–23, 1983

Following a briefing on how U.S. foreign policy is formulated, held at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, diplomats and spouses will see the revitalization of downtown Boston, visit the Minutemen National Historical Park to see and hear a depiction of the start of the American Revolution, live with host families in Marblehead, Salem and Gloucester and learn about the maritime history of those regions, and experience community life in a region of the country that gave us the "Puritan' characteristics of American life.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, REGIONAL BRIEFING PROGRAM, NOVEMBER 3–6, 1983

Diplomats and spouses will visit Atlanta to meet business leaders in one of the major regional economic centers of the country, attend sessions of the Board of Supervisors and learn about local government, participate in the newly formed international studies program of Spelman College and meet with other students in the Atlanta Complex, one of the country's outstanding Black educational centers. Diplomats will live with host families and take part in community life, including a visit to the Ebenezer Baptist Church and the Martin Luther King Memorial Center.

THANKSGIVING PROGRAM, NOVEMBER 24, 1983

The Council has started a tradition of inviting Special Delegates to the United Nations General Assembly and other UN diplomats to spend Thanksgiving with American families in communities in the New York metropolitan area. The program has been well received and will be extended to the Washington area in the future.

*Conference Programs*

The Council's Conferences are especially designed for senior foreign diplomats, American corporate executives and U.S. Government officials currently active in the field of foreign investment, trade, finance and development policy. At each

of the Council's three distinct discussion seminars—Wilderness Conferences which take place on this country's wild western rivers, follow-up Associates Conferences at embassies and corporate headquarters, and Discussion Leader Training at the American Enterprise Institute—the common goal is to enable participants to see clearly serious disagreements on development policies and investment practices and to discuss them in new and constructive ways.

WILDERNESS CONFERENCES, GRAND CANYON CONFERENCE, JUNE 17–26, 1983

Participants run the rapids of the Colorado River from Lee's Ferry to Phantom Ranch for six days under the guidance of Arizona River Runners. The journey through the Grand Canyon, on one of the world's most spectacular rivers, combines accomplishment with cooperation. The expedition is followed by two days of informal discussion on multinational corporations and governments at El Tovar Lodge on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon.

SALMON RIVER CONFERENCE, JULY 9–17, 1983

Participants run the rapids of the Salmon River, "The River of No Return," for five days from Corn Creek to Spring Bar, under the guidance of Echo: The Wilderness Company. Our journey takes us through the heart of a magnificent, forested gorge, rich in wildlife and steeped in a past complete with explorers, fur traders, pioneers and prospectors. Followed by two days of informal discussion on multinational corporations and governments at Idaho Rocky Mountain Ranch in Sun Valley.

*Conference method and subject.*—Sometimes extraordinary problems require extraordinary approaches. That is why the foreign diplomats, American business leaders and U.S. Government officials in this program prepare for a conference on world economics and politics by going on a wilderness expedition together—camping, cooking meals and shooting the rapids of the Colorado or Salmon Rivers—before starting the conference. Rivers present unfamiliar and powerful challenges requiring candor, cooperation and leadership. In their discussions of familiar international challenges, participants bring the unique experience of the river with them to the table.

The conference readings, "*Poverty, Prosperity & Profit: Controversies on International Development and Investment Policies*," have been selected to provide participants with a common set of problems to discuss on world economics and politics, with special consideration on emerging relationships between governments and multinational corporations. They have been chosen and arranged within each session to illuminate important issues rather than establish agreement. Since there are no speeches or formal presentations, discussion of the readings constitute the entire proceeding of the seminars. Therefore, each participant comes prepared to discuss them.

Discussion leaders help the group to identify significant controversies. They do their job primarily by asking questions, not by answering them. Like the other participants, they are diplomats and business executives, so their knowledge of the subject is not usually expected to exceed the combined expertise of the group. However, the leaders have developed special skills in training with the Council, which makes possible a discussion led in a professional manner by peers instead of lectures or debates by outside authorities, whose inability to resolve their disagreement over the issues in the story of the readings.

Therefore, using the readings, the discussion leaders draw out the collective expertise of the participants, their newest and most constructive thought, so that each participant contributes to and learns from the discussion. Unlike other meetings we are accustomed to, which are governed by agendas and the need to achieve decision, the purpose here is inquiry and determining new ways to think about familiar problems. The participants are the most important element in the seminars. All have been carefully chosen. By thoughtful preparation in advance, they make the conference succeed. If they listen to other opinions and speak up to say what they think, everyone goes home with new ideas and some discovered truths.

*Poverty, Prosperity & Profit: Controversies on International Development and Investment Policies*

Introduction: Different Rivers, Different Times, Different Views: J. W. Powell, "From the Little Colorado to the Foot of the Grand Canyon," *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyon.* Mark Twain, "Reading the River," *Life on the Mississippi.* John McPhee, *Encounters With the Archdruid.*

Session I: The Causes of Prosperity: Herman Melville, "Fast-Fish and Loose-Fish" and "Heads or Tails," *Moby Dick*. Adam Smith, "Of the Different Progress of Opulence in Different Nations," *The Wealth of Nations*. Charles Wolf, Jr., "Economic Success, Stability and the 'Old' International Order." F. A. Hayek, "What the Rich are Good For," *The Constitution of Liberty*.

Session II: The International Economic System and Poverty: President Julius K. Nyerere, "The Plea of the Poor." P. T. Bauer, "Western Guilt & Third World Poverty." John Kenneth Galbraith, "The Equilibrium of Poverty," *The Nature of Mass Poverty*. President Ronald Reagan, "Remarks of the President to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia."

Session III: The U.S. Economy and World Competition: Robert B. Reich, "The Next American Frontier." William J. Abernathy et al., "Wanted: Industrial Renaissance." W. Paul Tippet, "Basic Industries' Survival Requires Trade Counter Measures." AFL–CIO Executive Committee, "Realitstic Reciprocity." Ambassador William E. Brock, "An Assessment of the GATT Ministerial Meeting."

Session IV: Inequality and Strategies for Global Economic Recovery: ECOSOC, "Overcoming International Economic Disorder." Albert Bressand, "Mastering the Worldeconomy." George P. Shultz, "Restoring Prosperity to the World Economy." Thucydides, "The Melian Conference," *The Peloponnesian War*.

*Associates Conferences*

Associates Conferences are one day meetings on specific finance, trade and development issues which continue discussions commenced during the Wilderness Conferences. Associates—past participants in Wilderness Conferences and other individuals with special knowledge of the topics—are invited back into Embassies, The World Bank and International Monetary Fund, Missions and corporate headquarters to talk on home turf, not as negotiating parties, but as open friends.

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD—FLUOR CONFERENCE, APRIL 15, 1983, ARCO TOWERS, LOS ANGELES

*Government, Banks and Business: Financing Recovery from a Global Recession*

Session I: Prospects for World Growth and Development.
Session II: Banks and the Global Debt Crisis.
Session III: Trade and Protectionism.
Session IV: Policy for Global Recovery.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, OCTOBER 13, 1983, WASHINGTON, D.C.

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 18, 1983, NEW YORK CITY

Subjects for the IMF and Morgan Guaranty Associates Conferences are currently under development. They will be shaped further by economic and political events still to unfold, but will deal generally with ongoing debt and monetary issues.

DISCUSSION LEADER TRAINING, MAY 19–20, 1983, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Leader Training is an advanced seminar in discussion leadership for diplomats, executives and U.S. Government officials who have participated in previous conferences with the Council. Professional trainers help participants, who take turns leading the group in discussions, to develop the skills of listening and looking for questions which open the way to possibilities not thought of before. The seminar enables the Council to offer conferences led by peer professionals, rather than by outside experts, and to test issues and readings for forthcoming conferences.

*The Fellows Program*

This program provides the resource of foreign diplomats to undergraduate schools in regions of the United States where professionals from every part of the world would not ordinarily be accessible to students wishing to prepare themselves for jobs in the international field, in either government or business.

The Council is now affiliated with The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in a joint effort to develop a model curriculum for studying regions of the world and their relationship to American interests. As models are developed and refined, the program will be offered to increasing numbers of schools throughout the country for students going on to graduate schools in the field and those simply wishing a more informed understanding of world politics and economics. Participating schools are:

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia.
Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.
Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Occidental College, Los Angeles, California.
Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California.
California State University, Long Beach, California.

PARTICIPATION

Foreign diplomats are invited from Washington Embassies, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Regional Development Banks, Delegation of the Commission of European Communities (Common Market), Organization of American States, United Nations Missions and Specialized Agencies, Office of the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the United Nations Development Program. Guests from these agencies range in rank from Ambassadors to Attaches.

Special delegates to the United Nations General Assembly, which meets each fall at the United Nations in New York City, are invited to regional weekend briefing trips during that period. The delegates are members of parliaments, cabinets, foreign ministries, official and private agencies of governments throughout the world who are sent to observe and participate in the work of the Assembly and have virtually no opportunity to see the United States beyond New York City.

Senior executives are invited from American multinational corporations.

U.S. Government officials are invited from Congress, Departments of State, Treasury and Commerce, Federal Reserve Bank and other Executive posts.

Participants are accepted on the basis of background relevant to the programs, with the exception of the Western Wagon Train for diplomats and their families. Spouses are included in most Conference, Fellows and Regional Briefing Programs.

COST

There is no cost to diplomats to participate, except for room and board at an occasional hotel when not staying with host families, the airline fares of their children for the Wagon Train program, and personal expenses, including gas and oil on the Wagon Train.

Corporations sending executives and their spouses to participate in the Council's conferences pay a conference fee or membership contribution. Executives pay the cost of their room and board at conferences, unless taking part as discussion leaders for the Council.

GOVERNANCE

The Council's activities and finances are governed by a Board of Directors which meets quarterly and once annually with the Board of Overseers for its review and endorsement. Directors serve as individuals, not as representatives of their companies or organizations, and have a first hand experience in the Council's programs. Directors and Officers are:

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The Board of Overseers is comprised of chief executive officers of major American multinational corporations which support the Council at the Benefactor level of $15,000 per year. The Board of Overseers and Board of Directors account for more than half of the Council's present annual budget of approximately $900,000 and therefore the Overseers in particular play a leadership role in attracting the private contributions which are the sole support of the program. Since the Board of Directors sets policy and elects the Board of Overseers, the governance and funding of the Council are separated. Overseers provide high level guidance, however, on future direction to the Directors at their joint annual meeting and serve as an avenue of communication between the Secretary of State and the private sector from one administration to the next. The Chairman and Finance Chairman of the Overseers are traditionally asked to serve at the request of the Secretary to further the national interest in improved understanding among all the nations represented in this country. The Council's Overseers are:

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Standard Oil Company (Indiana).
Tesoro Petroleum Corporation.
Texaco Inc.
United Energy Resources, Inc.
Zapata Corporation.

FELLOWS

(Those who give $2,000 or more)

The Charter Company.
IC Industries, Inc.
Jordan Vineyard & Winery.
The Merck Company Foundation.
Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Company.

SPONSORS

(Those who give $1,000 or more)

AVM Corporation.
Alcan Aluminum Corporation.
Allegheny International.
American Cyanamid Company.
Cameron Iron Works, Inc.
Diamond Shamrock Corporation.
Ethyl Corporation.
First Pennsylvania Bank.
Ford Motor Company Fund.
General Signal Corporation.
Gifford-Hill & Company, Inc.
Heublein Foundation, Inc.
Hilton Hotels Corporation.
International Multifoods Corporation.
International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation.
Kennecott Corporation.
Mapco Inc.
Michigan National Corporation.
Monsanto Company.
Morrison-Knudsen Company, Inc.
Murphy Oil Company.
Narsai David Company.
National Steel Corporation.
Norfolk Southern Corporation.
Northrop Corporation.
Norton Simon Inc.
Schlumberger Technology Corporation.
J. Henry Schroder Bank & Trust Company.
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Company.
The Starr Foundation.
Texas Gas Transmission Corporation.
The Travelers Insurance Companies.

FRIENDS

(Those who give $500 or less)

American Brands, Inc.
Bliss & Laughlin Industries.
Patrick & Aimee Butler Family Foundation.
Cities Service Company.
The Citizens & Southern National Bank.
Commercial Shearing, Inc.
Communications Satellite Corporation.
Copperweld Corporation.
Sylvia Howard Fuhrman.
W. R. Grace & Company.
Gulf & Western Industries, Inc.
The Honorable U. Alexis Johnson.
Johnston International Publishing Corporation.
Levinson Steel Company.
J. Eugene Marans.
Nabisco Brands, Inc.
National Savings and Trust Company.
North Carolina National Bank.
Pechiney Ugine Kuhlmann Corporation.
Pfizer Inc.
Francis T. P. Plimpton.
Reed, Roberts Associates, Inc.
Republic Financial Services, Inc.
Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.
Stone & Webster Inc.
Raymond John Wean Foundation.
Grand Webb & Co., Inc.
David H. Winton.

STATE DEPARTMENT ANNUAL LUNCHEONS

Hubert H. Humphrey as Vice President in 1967 wanted to send an official sign of support for the Council's work with foreign diplomats and therefore instituted annual luncheons at the Department of State to which the Council's contributors—chief executive officers and foundation directors—had been invited and honored for supporting the organization. The Department also provides high level briefings by senior State Department officials or by a member of the Cabinet on late-breaking world events in the morning before the luncheon and addresses by the guest of honor. Guests of honor for the past 17 years are:

1983: George P. Shultz, Secretary of State.
1982: A. W. Clausen, President, The World Bank.
1981: Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Secretary of State.
1980: Paul A. Volcker, Chairman, The Federal Reserve Board.
1979: Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of State.

1978: Robert Strauss, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.
1977: Walter F. Mondale, Vice President of the United States.
1976: Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State.
1975: Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States.
1974: Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States.
1973: John A. Love, Director, Energy Policy Office.
1972: Mrs. Patricia Nixon, First Lady.
1971: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.
1970: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.
1969: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.
1968: Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We look forward to your presentation, but I would like to turn to Senator Pell for any comments that he would like to make.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very glad to join the chairman in welcoming Secretary Christopher and his colleagues here today and join in commending the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. In my mind, there is a great deal of discussion on voluntarism and doing things in a voluntary spirit, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for our country," but not too much is actually done, and this is an example of actions as well as words.

The Council receives no Federal funds, yet it does work of great value to the Government and our entire Nation. By facilitating an exposure of foreign diplomats to many aspects of American life, the Council helps to insure that foreign diplomats gain a firsthand understanding of our values, views, diversity of work, and life in our country.

This was touched on yesterday, in the hearing with Mr. Shultz, as to how actively foreign diplomats in this country report back to their governments not only what their government wants to hear, which is a normal temptation for any diplomat to succumb to, but what actually is the case. I think that this work of yours helps a great deal in that regard.

I know that once upon a time when I was in the diplomatic service how much it meant to me to be exposed not just to the capital of the country to which I was accredited, but to be able to get in and see the workings away from the capital. I hope after this hearing is concluded, it will be possible to issue a printed record of the committee's proceedings, so that all Americans will gain a great appreciation of what the Council is doing in their behalf. It might even, I think, be appropriate to consider the idea of a Senate resolution commending and thanking the Council for its work.

I look forward to hearing the start of the testimony. I will not be able to stay for the full hearing, and I would ask unanimous consent to insert in the record, at this point, the statement on behalf of the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Glenn.

The CHAIRMAN. Also, Senator Mathias is unable to be here, and does have a statement which we will incorporate in the record. We have also a statement from Senator Howard Baker, and he has a conflicting commitment but warmly welcomes our friends today; and Richard Lugar. And we will insert those together with Senator Mathias' statement in the record at this point.

[The prepared statements of Senators Baker, Lugar, Mathias, and Glenn follow:]

UNITED STATES SENATE,
OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER,
*Washington, D.C., June 13, 1983.*

Hon. CHARLES A. PERCY,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHUCK: Due to conflicting commitments, I will be unable to attend today's hearing on private sector foreign policy initiatives. I understand you will receive a report from the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

Over the years, I have admired the Council's attempts to foster appreciation in the diplomatic community for the diversity of America's people, economy, and heritage. On several occasions, the Council has brought its good works to my home state, and the positive experiences we have had in Tennessee have been replicated many times throughout the nation.

I congratulate you for your continuing interest in the Council's activities and for your recognition of these vitally important private sector overtures.

Sincerely,

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

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UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY,
*Washington, D.C., June 14, 1983.*

Hon. CHARLES H. PERCY,
*Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHUCK: On Thursday, the Foreign Relations Committee will conduct a hearing to take testimony from the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

Although my schedule prevents me from attending this meeting, I have admired the Council and its success in proving that the private sector can help the condition of U.S. foreign relations. The Council has made it possible for thousands of foreign diplomats to learn about America—its size, its diversity and its good will.

The hearing is more than an opportunity to ascertain facts about these useful developments. It represents a chance to give due recognition to important private sector overtures. As I congratulate the Council on its many achievements, so do I applaud your active interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

RICHARD G. LUGAR,
*United States Senator.*

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS

I want to commend the Chairman for making it possible for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hear the report of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

The success of the Council in arranging for more than 10,000 foreign diplomats to learn about our country—its size, diversity, and good will—has been impressive. In my own state of Maryland, the Council has set up a sailing program on the Chesapeake where host families share their boats with foreign diplomats. The Council also has arranged for visits to the newly developed harbor in Baltimore, and for foreign diplomats to share knowledge of their countries with children in public schools.

The Council's work of giving foreign diplomats an impression of the United States beyond their normal purview of Washington, D.C. and New York City is important. As Adlai Stevenson, an early proponent of the Council, said in 1962, "Shouldn't foreign diplomats go home with a knowledge of America . . . beyond what they may gain in the course of bureaucracy bounded diplomacy?"

In recognition of its valuable contribution, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Council.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN GLENN

Mr. Chairman: I sincerely regret that I am not able to be with you this morning for the hearing on the programs of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. However, I wanted to commend you for holding this hearing to

focus some well-deserved attention on the outstanding work of this organization. The Council's efforts to acquaint foreign diplomats with America and Americans outside Washington, D.C. and New York City is a worthwhile endeavor from which all participants must surely benefit substantially. Since 1962 the Travel Program for Foreign Diplomats, now the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, has provided opportunities for foreign government representatives to travel in the United States, enjoying the breadth and beauty of our land and the friendly hospitality of its people. It has carried out its programs with contributions of the time, talents and financial support of individual U.S. citizens and corporations and not, I would note with admiration and approval, with any government funding. In persuing the material sent to me by the Council I was pleased to note the active participation of two Ohio-based businesses, NCR Corporation and Marathon Oil Company, in the work of the Council. I believe that the Council's work represents the best tradition of cooperation between individuals, business and government, working together in an endeavor which will benefit all by contributing positively to international human understanding and good will. I want to express my sincere appreciation to all those involved in the work of the Council for a job well done.

The CHAIRMAN. Now at this point if Jim Stoutenberg would care to take over.

Senator PRESSLER. Mr. Chairman, could I make a statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pressler, would you like to make a comment?

Senator PRESSLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that I am very happy to be here, and to say that I think that this program is of vital importance, and I say that from some personal experience.

A number of years ago I had the opportunity to study in England on a Rhodes scholarship. There was an association called the Victoria League which arranged for students to stay in British homes.

Through that organization I met many families with whom I am still in contact, including some from Scotland, some from Wales, England, and Ireland. The Victoria League has a program of getting students and foreign diplomats in England out to meet people and to stay in homes and so forth, out of the official environment. And that is similar to what the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats does. The Victoria League also operates on private funds, as I understand it, much the same as the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

There has been a decline in the exchange of students in the Western countries. Some people are cynical about this. They say, well, very little is accomplished, we are stirring around, and what results? But a lot results, because some of these diplomats really do not get to see the United States. They do not have a chance to get out from the official areas, from the official environments, and it is good to have them travel across our country. I see that part of the program has occurred in the State of South Dakota, so that makes me especially happy.

I want to commend the U.S. participants in this program. I may not be able to stay through the entire hearing, but I want to say this is the sort of thing we need to be doing more of. We think that because people are diplomats in Washington or New York, that they are seeing everybody and meeting everybody, but they may want to get out and meet other Americans as we are.

So I commend the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats and say that I am very pleased to be here and look forward to hearing the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Pressler. We appreciate your presence this morning and your fine statement.

Now, Mr. Stoutenberg, would you care to take over?

**STATEMENT OF JAMES STOUTENBERG, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, NEW YORK, N.Y.**

Mr. STOUTENBERG. Thank you, Senator Percy and members of the committee.

It is true we do not receive Government funds, but we feel the fund of your encouragement, and I think in many ways that is another kind of funding which keeps us buoyed up and moving forward.

I would like to briefly introduce the cross section of directors and overseers who are with us today from the Council's board. We have Peter Steil from Morgan Stanley International, chairman of the board of directors; Vincent McLean from the Sperry Corp.; he is our vice chairman; Geoffrey Bardsley from the Xerox Corp.; Vaughn Blake from Greenwich Research Associates; Elmer Graham from Marathon Oil; Bruce Chelberg from IC Industries, Inc.; Peter Moyer from Exxon Chemical Co.

And on the board of overseers, of course, we have our newest member of the board of overseers, Mr. Warren Christopher. Mr. Alden Yates, chairman of the Bechtel group, is with us today.

We are very pleased that they have been able to join us for this hearing.

I am very happy to report to the committee a great deal of progress on finances, programs and governance since the Council was here last in 1976.

In 1976, Senator Percy, the income of the Council was approximately $250,000 from corporations, foundations and individuals. In 1983, the Council expects to raise more than $900,000 in contributions from the private sector, mainly from American corporations and foundations. Our income there has quadrupled in the past 7 years. However, I must tell you that the cost of taking the same number of diplomats to the same area has also nearly quadrupled, which I will expand on later if you like.

Since 1976, the Council has dramatically developed the programs it offers. The cornerstone program of the Council from its beginning in 1962—the program we told this committee about in 1976—is its regional trips to different States around the country.

In 1982 and 1983 the Ford Foundation is providing a special challenge grant of $150,000 to the executive council to strengthen this regional briefing program for all newly arriving foreign diplomats.

The Ford Foundation grant and the new structure of the regional briefing program insures that for years to come diplomats will be thoroughly briefed about the American private sector at the grassroots level, where, after all, the democratic process does begin.

The other new programs being offered today by the Council grew out of this regional briefing activity. Our fellows program at colleges and universities is directed at strengthening the study of international relations at the undergraduate level.

In cooperation with the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the Council is assisting schools to start or further develop their international affairs curriculums so that when diplomats are scheduled to take part in seminars, students are fully prepared to take maximum advantage of the diplomat's expertise and current knowledge of world events and relations.

Our other major program development in the past 7 years grew out of our visits to corporate headquarters with groups of foreign diplomats during visits to the various States. It was the diplomats who encouraged the Council to come up with an innovative approach to getting foreign officials and American corporate executives to talk candidly and constructively about development policies and foreign investment practices.

That is why we began offering wilderness conferences for them on America's wild western rivers, followed by 2 days of discussions on economic and political issues. It has been called rapid diplomacy by some and has been made even more effective in the last year by including U.S. Government officials, including members of this committee's staff. As a matter of fact, tomorrow at this time, we will have launched 52 participants on the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon.

The last item of development concerns governance of the Council. Two years ago the organization created two boards, a board of directors, which sets policy and governs, and a board of overseers, which contributes financially at a leadership level of $15,000 each, accounting for over half the Council's annual budget.

Directors meet regularly during the year as a board and in committees. The overseers meet once a year with the directors for a review and to give their endorsement.

The progress of rebuilding the Council since 1976 was simply divided into two stages of development. Dramatically strengthening governance and oversight and increasing contributions.

I know that the overseers and directors would want me, at this point, to thank a number of people who have made this tremendous progress possible, and there are many, many, too many to list. But two people in particular do stand out for mention: From 1979 to 1980, Nicholas Brady, former Senator from New Jersey, was the Council's chairman, and during that period of time he doubled our budget.

In Government, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher gave the Council very strong support and assistance in this period of development. Secretary of State George Shultz, formerly an overseer of the Council, has continued to give the Council the strongest support since going to the Department of State.

Mr. Harbin would now like to say a few words of his own and to introduce our special guest, Hon. Warren Christopher. We appreciate this opportunity once again, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

[Mr. Stoutenberg's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN STOUTENBERG

Mr. Chairman: I am happy to report a great deal of progress on finances, programs and governance since the Council was last here in 1976.

In 1976, the income of the Council was approximately $250,000 from corporations, foundations and individuals. In 1983, the Council expects to raise more than $900,000 in contributions from the private sector, mainly from American Corporations and Foundations. Our income, therefore has quadrupled in the past 6 years. However, I must tell you that the cost of taking the same number of diplomats to the same areas has also nearly quadrupled which I will expand on later if you like.

Since 1976 the Council has dramatically developed the programs it offers. The cornerstone program of the Council from its beginning in 1962 the one we told this committee about in 1976, is its Regional Trips to different states around the country. In 1982 and 1983 the Ford Foundation is providing a special challenge grant of $150,000 to strengthen this program into a Regional Briefing Program for all newly arriving foreign diplomats. The Ford Foundation grant and the new structure of the program have insured that for years to come diplomats will be thoroughly briefed about the American private sector at the grass roots level, where the democratic process begins.

The other new programs being offered grew out of the Regional Programs. Our Fellows Program at colleges and universities is directed at strengthening the study of international relations at the undergraduate level. In cooperation with the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy the Council is assisting schools to start or further develop their international affairs curricula so that when diplomats are scheduled to take part in seminars, students are fully prepared to take maximum advantage of the diplomat's expertise and current knowledge of world events and relations.

Our other major program development grew out of our visits to corporate headquarters with groups of foreign diplomats during visits to the various states. It was the diplomats who encouraged the Council to come up with an innovative approach to getting foreign officials and American corporate executives to talk candidly and constructively about development policies and foreign investment practices. That is why we began offering Wilderness Conferences for them on America's wild western rivers followed by two days of discussions on economic and political issues. It has been called "rapid diplomacy" by some and has been made even more effective in the last year by including U.S. Government officials, including members of the Committee's staff.

The last item of development concerns governance of the Council. Two years ago the organization created two boards—a Board of Directors, which sets policy and governs, and a Board of Overseers, which contributes financially at a leadership level of $15,000 each, accounting for over half the Council's annual budget. Directors meet regularly during the year as a board and in committees. The Overseers meet once a year with the Directors for a review and to give their endorsement. Since the Directors function independently from the Overseers, who governs the organization has been separated from who supports it.

The progress of rebuilding the Council since 1976 is divided into two stages of development: dramatically strengthening governance and oversight and increasing contributions.

All of the Council's Overseers and Directors have made enormous contributions to the well-being of the programs, but they would want me to mention here those Overseers and Directors whose special contributions have enabled the Council to move forward so strongly: In the rebuilding, Fred Hartley of Union Oil Company, John Kircher of Conoco, John Harbin of Halliburton Company, Albert Casey of American Airlines and Bob Anderson, Chairman Emeritus of the Council were instrumental in organizing the new development of the Council. Nicholas Brady, who was Council Chairman from 1979 through 1980, doubled the income of the Council in that short period of time and brought the program to the attention of a new range of corporations. Charles Nelson of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Company and Robert Egelston of the Capital Group assisted the Council in the reorganization of the Boards of Directors and Overseers.

To sustain this progress and build further, John McGillicuddy of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, as Finance Chairman since 1981, has sustained this progress and has further increased financial support of the program. James Ketelsen of Tenneco, as Program Chairman, has brought many new business leaders into the programs of the Council, while Robert Lindsay of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company has assumed present leadership of the Board of Overseers. Morgan Guaranty Trust Company was one of the first companies to help the Council develop the Wilderness Conferences.

In government, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher gave the Council very strong support and assistance in this period of development. Secretary of State George Shultz, formerly an Overseer of the Council, has continued to give the Council the strongest support since going to the Department of State.

The 1976 hearing was a great catalyst for the Council and I thank you for inviting us back today. One of our longest serving Overseers, and past Chairman, John Harbin of Halliburton, is here today and would like to tell you why he and his company are associated with the Council. He in turn will introduce Mr. Christopher, our newest Overseer.

## STATEMENT OF JOHN P. HARBIN, CHAIRMAN, HALLIBURTON CO., AND OVERSEER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, DALLAS, TEX.

Mr. HARBIN. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee and other distinguished guests, my company, Halliburton from Texas, Senator, has been a strong contributor and supporter of the Council for the past 10 years. Each Secretary of State during this period has felt strongly that it was important for a diplomat stationed in Washington or New York, to see other parts of the country and to learn about its people, its system, and what makes the country great.

And, of course, those of us who live in Texas support that very much because we believe that there is more to the United States than just Washington and New York. We believe this idea makes great sense.

Frequently we complain that people in our country do not understand our country, and sometimes we Americans do not understand what is going on in other countries. So it is a mutual proposition. Many of those countries represented in New York and Washington deserve this support, especially from multinational companies that are concerned about the interrelation between our diplomatic corps.

Building an organization devoted to this grassroots knowledge of our great Nation is a challenge, especially when it is financed by the private sector. But every time we became discouraged, the State Department was right there to boost our morale and hold out the proposition that, if the Council did not exist, the programs would have to be implemented by some other means and probably would not be as effective.

I must say that the Council is one of the hardiest, most innovative organizations I have ever known, and I speak for the rest of the overseers that the challenge of creating this organization, funded entirely by the private sector, is doing a great job, and it has created many programs that are greatly stimulating and appealing.

The business leaders, who are my colleagues on the board of directors and overseers, are proud to respond to the call of the Secretary of State in supporting this program, because it does demonstrate that private enterprise and Government can work together to improve relations on a worldwide basis.

It has been the Council's privilege and my personal privilege to work on matters concerning the Council with former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher. He personally gave this organization his attention and many times during his tenure at the State Department he met with us to discuss Council matters. He opened lines of communication at a very high level between the Government, our State Department, and the American business community.

It is a great honor and pleasure to introduce our newest overseer, Mr. Warren Christopher, who will talk to you at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very kindly. It is a great pleasure to welcome you back again, Secretary Christopher. We have missed your day-by-day advice and counsel, but we are delighted that you have seen fit to associate yourself with what we consider to be a really outstanding organization, in addition to the many other things that you are carrying on.

## STATEMENT OF HON. WARREN CHRISTOPHER, FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE AND OVERSEER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, Senator Pressler, I am very glad to be back in your company in this hearing room. I spent a number of hours sitting in this chair looking up at those lights. I was always treated with courtesy and consideration, perhaps sometimes more controversial than I will be today.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember the days when we on a daily basis were together on the Iran hostage situation, probably the most embarrassing situation this country has faced in many, many years. The debt of gratitude all Americans have, and your Government has, to what you did and accomplished, in a brilliant way was very much appreciated and, of course, we had the contribution of six nations that participated in helping us with that very awkward situation.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator, both as a private citizen and as a public official, I have come to have a very high appreciation of the need for the foreign diplomats to have a better understanding of America. There is so much about our country that is rather obvious to us, but to an outsider it takes some learning, and that is where the Council comes in.

It is really not possible to understand America without seeing directly how heterogeneous our population is. I noticed that many foreign diplomats come from countries where the population is both ethnically and culturally quite homogeneous compared to ours. We are a Nation of immigrants and we are really quite incredibly diverse.

In my own hometown of Los Angeles I was noticing figures the other day indicating that there are more than 2 million people from Mexico, more than 100,000 Iranians, Salvadorans, Japanese, Armenians, Chinese, Korean, Filipinos and Arab Americans. You really have to see it to believe it, and the reality of that diversity influences very much the way our Government acts.

Mr. Chairman, it is also not easy to understand America without grasping firsthand our enormous agricultural capacity both in your State and mine, for example. Many nations cannot feed themselves, but we in the United States are fortunate enough to be able to produce enough for ourselves and for much of the world market besides.

Mr. Chairman, it is also not possible to understand America without recognizing how genuinely free our people are. There may be a tendency in some quarters to discount Washington as a showplace of democracy, but when you travel outside of the beltway, you learn

how the winds of freedom blow all over our Nation on farms, in small villages, in medium-sized towns, in cities throughout the Nation, from Montana to Texas, Utah and Arizona, Illinois, the Carolinas, all over our Nation.

As the world becomes smaller, Mr. Chairman, diplomacy, in a broad sense, becomes the province of every one of us. Of course, official diplomacy is reserved by law for the President and his agents, but there can be a kind of insularity if we leave it to that: we have to go beyond that.

When people from other countries, whether diplomats or private individuals, travel around the United States, I believe they encounter a frankness and an openness, and a desire on the part of our people to be helpful and informative, that leaves a lasting and very favorable impression on those who travel, whether they be diplomats or foreign officials.

I also want to commend the Council's policies with respect to the seminars at the Fletcher School at Tufts University. They have a very special bearing on our diplomacy. We do not often recognize it, but our system of government has some unusual, almost unique, features that are not easy for others to understand.

For example, our separation of powers between the branches is a genuine separation and no foreign diplomat can understand our internal problems, our internal struggles, without a full appreciation of that constitutional reality.

Our diplomacy abroad is strengthened when foreign diplomats and the countries which send them here recognize the elements of our constitutional system that cannot be altered. It is with good reason that the executive power and foreign policy have restraints. We can never hope to match the so-called efficiency of less democratic systems and we should not try.

What we should do, in my judgment, is to use every opportunity to make sure that the limits on the Executive power and the reasons for those limits are widely understood by other countries.

Mr. Chairman, I might here make a personal reference to something that you referred to, for I have a very vivid memory of the application of this principle during the negotiations for the release of the hostages. You will recall that those negotiations had to be conducted through an intermediary, through Algeria. I know you have given unusual recognition to the role they played. That was necessary because Khomeini had ruled out any direct contact between the Iranians and the United States.

The Iranians constantly during those negotiations demanded things that were simply constitutionally impossible for the United States. Obviously, they did not understand our system. One of their key demands was their insistence, which was still pending after 14 months, in January 1981, that would have required us to release to Iran some $2.2 billion in funds from U.S. banks, funds that were subject to court proceedings, to attachments, to legal claims.

In many countries, of course, there would have been no question that the Executive could simply have waved a wand and freed those funds, but under our system the President was restricted by the courts and by our concepts of due process.

The decisive factor in resolving the impasse was a foreigner's understanding of our system. I went to Algeria in January 1981, with the deadline for the settlement closing very rapidly, and I explained the legal barriers to the release of those funds to Algeria's outstanding Foreign Minister, the late Mohammed Benyahia. It was my good fortune that Mr. Benyahia knew our constitutional system well enough to understand the problem.

He, in turn, had enough credibility with the Iranians to persuade them that their demand to have those funds released by January 20 was simply impossible. This rather quickly led to a solution to the problem. So in my belief, Mr. Chairman, the resolution of this crisis stands as an example of how our national interests are advanced when others understand the makeup of our system, how it works, and how it cannot work.

One or two more words in closing, Mr. Chairman, and I hope that my longer statement can be incorporated in the record of these proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN. The full statement will be incorporated in the record.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. One of the things that you notice when you are in the State Department, in the kind of position which I had, is that when foreign governments select their diplomats to send to the United States, they send their very best. That is an honor they pay to the United States.

Therefore, when the Executive Council educates foreign diplomats, whether they be rather low-ranking individuals in an embassy or the Ambassadors themselves, it is likely that we are educating the next generation of leaders of that country, enabling them to come to know not only our official positions but the private, unofficial side of America. So, this is a bonus of the activities of the Council which serves the United States, not just during their tour of service here in the United States, but in their future as almost inevitable leaders of their country.

As has been said, the leadership of the Council has demonstrated an extraordinary capacity to raise money from the private sector for this valuable program. They have nearly quadrupled it, but that has barely kept pace with inflation. It has not kept pace with the hundreds of new foreign diplomats who have come to the United States to represent their countries in growing numbers.

To keep pace with that growth opportunity, Mr. Chairman, I urge that the Council establish now a target for doubling its income. This is a goal that I believe would be, with the outstanding new leadership under John McGillicuddy and others, and with your encouragement, can be achieved.

In sum, Mr. Chairman and Senator Pressler, this is a program that enables the diplomats of other countries to make a better informed judgment about the United States, and at the same time enables people of our country to play a direct and informed role as world citizens.

It is a program that is in absolutely everyone's interest and I commend it to you and to the American people.

[Mr. Christopher's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WARREN CHRISTOPHER

When the opportunity arose to testify here today, I grasped it without hesitation, even though it involved a trip across the country from Los Angeles.

I have great respect for you, Mr. Chairman, and for your colleagues on both sides of the aisle. So I am happy to be back.

The other reason that I wanted to be here today is my enthusiasm for the program you have under consideration—the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats in America.

As you know, this private sector program began in 1962, at the request of the Department of State and with special encouragement from Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, as a vehicle to familiarize foreign diplomats posted to the United States with the character of the country outside the normal diplomatic confines of the Washington-New York corridor. The program has had the strong endorsement of every Secretary of State since then.

My own perspective on the value of this program grows out of the fact that the bulk of my career has been in the private sector on the other Coast, but I also have had the opportunity to serve as a foreign policy official of the government.

Both as a private citizen and as a public official, I have come to recognize the importance of a greater appreciation of our society on the part of people from other countries, and especially those who serve in official capacities here.

And there is much that may seem obvious to us that nonetheless generally may not be known.

It is not possible to understand America fully without seeing directly how heterogeneous our population is. Most ambassadors come from countries where the population is ethnically and culturally homogeneous. In contrast, as a nation of immigrants from all over the world, we are incredibly diverse. In my hometown of Los Angeles, there are more than 2 million people from Mexico and more than 100,000 Iranians, Salvadorans, Japanese, Armenians, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Arab Americans. You have to see it to believe it. And that reality of diversity all through our nation influences the way we look at many international issues.

It is not easy to understand America without grasping firsthand our enormous agricultural capacity. Many nations cannot feed themselves. We produce enough for ourselves and for much of the world market besides.

It is not possible to understand America without recognizing how genuinely free our people are. There may be a tendency to discount Washington as a showplace of democracy. Travels outside the beltway show how the winds of freedom blow on farms and in small villages, in medium-sized towns, and in cities throughout the nation—in Montana and Texas, in Utah and Arizona, in Illinois and the Carolinas, and all the places in between.

In the State Department, I found great appreciation from another perspective for the way in which the program of the Executive Council enabled foreign diplomats to visit Americans in their communities and live in their homes, to take part in ranch operations in Montana and farm operations in Tennessee, to participate in undergraduate international studies at colleges around the country, and to ride the Colorado River with American businessmen and some of our own government officials before sitting down to discuss the tough problems of trade, finance, and investment.

As the world becomes smaller, diplomacy, in a broad sense, becomes a province of every one of us. Of course official diplomacy is reserved by law to the President and his agents. But there can be a confining insularity to exchanges of that kind. When people from other countries, whether diplomats or private individuals, travel around the United States, I believe they encounter a frankness, an openess, and a desire to be helpful and informative that leaves a lasting favorable impression of our country.

Much of what the Council does is best done by the private sector. Its program is of unique value as a window for foreign diplomats into the nature of the American private economy and the quality and perspective of the people who work there. I have great confidence in the ability of career diplomats to understand and convey such information. But direct observation is always best. Moreover, our official contacts with diplomats from other countries inevitably are colored by current political controversies. Contacts of the kind fostered by the Council are freed of political constraint or purpose, and thus are far more likely to leave their impacts in unalloyed form.

The understanding fostered by this program can have tangible value in the diplomatic sphere.

If the United States Government is negotiating an agreement on non-tariff barriers, for example, it is of little help to that process if our negotiating partners at some point have observed and come to know the American producers of the goods that are being excluded from the other country's markets. An American businessman, laborer, or farmer can be most persuasive in stating his interest. He can very quickly transform an abstract issue into a concrete, practical problem.

The Council's activities on the formation of American foreign policy, conducted through seminars at the Fletcher School at Tufts University, have a special bearing on our diplomacy. Our system of government has some unusual, almost unique, features, that are not always easy for others to understand. I was reminded of this recently when I saw that the Supreme Court of South Africa had invalidated some of the so-called "pass laws" under which Blacks are restricted in their ability to travel. This seemed to be a major victory for human rights, except that further down in the story it was reported that the decision of the Court could, and probably would, be overturned by the Parliament. In a negotiating context, it could certainly be a handicap to us if a diplomat from another country thought the decisions of our Supreme Court on a Constitutional issue could be as easily undone.

Because it bears on our effectiveness abroad, I have written about the difficulties posed for the United States when the formal products of our diplomacy—the agreements and treaties—are subject not only to advice and consent, but on occasion to renegotiation, in the Senate, and sometimes to challenges in the courts (although the courts, as you know, have been strongly disinclined to upset the judgments of the political branches). Other countries almost always find those internal struggles hard to understand. I hope we can soon reach a practical accommodation in which each branch will be less inclined to interfere with the unique capacities of the other—so that the Congress, for example, would be somewhat less likely to revise or countermand international agreements made by the Executive and, by the same token, so the Executive would be more scrupulous in fully informing the Congress and in observing both the letter and the intent of the laws the Congress enacts. To the extent we can speak with a single voice in the world, our diplomacy will be strengthened.

The other side of that same coin is that our diplomacy also is strengthened when other countries recognize the elements of our system that are unalterable. It is with good reason that the Executive power in foreign policy is restrained. We can never hope to match the "efficiency" of less democratic systems, and we should not try. What we should do, however, is use every opportunity to make sure that the limits on the Executive freedom of action, and the reasons for those limits, are widely understood among our negotiating partners.

I have a very vivid memory of the application of this principle in a practical setting during the negotiations for the release of our hostages from Iran. You will recall that those negotiations had to be conducted through an intermediary, through Algeria, because the Ayatollah Khomeini had ruled out any direct contact with the United States.

The Iranians, however, consistently raised demands that were constitutionally impossible for the President to fulfill. Obviously they did not understand our system. A key demand was the insistence, still pending in January of 1981, that would have required us to release to Iran some $2.2 billion in funds in U.S. banks—funds that were then subject to attachments arising out of legal claims against Iran. In many countries there would be no question about the power of the head of state to take such a step. Under our system, however, the President was restrained by the courts and by our concepts of due process.

The decisive factor in resolving that impasse was a foreigner's understanding of our system. I went to Algeria on January 7, with the deadline for a settlement closing rapidly, and I explained the legal barriers to action to Algeria's Foreign Minister, Mohammed Benyahia. It was to our good fortune that Mr. Benyahia knew our constitutional structure well enough immediately to grasp the problem. In turn, Algeria had sufficient credibility with the Iranians to persuade them that their demand was impossible to fulfill by January 20, 1981. This led rather quickly to the ultimate solution, and so the resolution of the hostage crisis stands as a striking example of how our national interests are advanced when others understand the makeup of our system.

There are some other factors reinforcing the value of the Executive Council program that I would like to mention in closing.

One is the reality that when they select diplomats to be posted to the United States, foreign governments almost always select from among their very best people. Therefore, through the program of the Executive Council, it is likely that the next generation of leaders of foreign countries are coming to know not only our official positions and personalities, but the private, unofficial side of America. These ties can have long-term benefits.

Another factor, of course, is that the program is entirely funded from private sources. It does not cost the taxpayers a cent. At a time when we are facing cutbacks in government funded exchange programs—cuts that are mistaken, in my judgment, for nearly all the same reasons this program is meritorious—the Executive Council's work takes on added importance.

The business leadership of the Council has demonstrated an extraordinary commitment and capacity for raising money from the private sector to fund the program. They have nearly quadrupled the income of the organization since the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings in 1976. That, however, has only kept pace with inflation and allowed a modest increase in new programs. Meanwhile, hundreds of new foreign diplomats come each year to represent their governments in the United States.

To account for the growth in opportunity, I urge the Council to establish a target of doubling its income. That is a goal I believe the leadership, with your encouragement, is capable of achieving.

In sum Mr. Chairman, this is a program that enables the diplomats of other countries to make better informed judgments about the United States, and at the same time helps our people play a direct and informed role as world citizens. It is a program that is in everyone's interest. I commend it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed. I appreciate that Mr. Secretary, and I wonder if I could put one question to you now.

You implied or indicated, and I have too, that this is a job that can better be done by the private sector than it can by Government, and yet it would be a function that perhaps in some countries governments try to perform.

From your own experience, seeing it from both sides, both now as an overseer, but also before as the Deputy Secretary of State and many times Acting Secretary of State, why do you feel this program can better be done by the private sector and by the Council than it can be done by Government?

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, there is a very solid reason that it can best be done by the private sector, and that is that if Government attempts to do it, its effort is overlaid by the controversies that may exist between the United States and whatever other country is involved.

I must say that however sincere we are there is a certain suspicion that attends governmental efforts. On the other hand, these private efforts are not affected by any of those other controversies. They are not affected by the suspicion that sometimes attends Government efforts. So this is one of those programs that can uniquely be better done by private efforts which can go forward without, to use a colloquialism, having any axe to grind.

At the same time, Mr. Chairman, I do not want to leave the impression that I do not feel there is an important role for Government here. The very same reasons that commend the work of the Council, I think, would commend greater support for exchange programs. I am sorry to see exchange programs suffer in the budget cuts as they have in the past. They have an important role as well. Although, as you say, this particular job is uniquely well done by private parties.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Pressler aptly pointed out the cutbacks in the exchange program would be distressing. I think Government can play a role as when the Secretary every year hosts the Council and its corporate supporters to emphasize to the contributors and sponsors of the programs how vital their contributions are to the effort. Those dollars go 10 times, I would say, as far as the same dollars spent by Government, because of the help and the quality of the people who volunteer their time. Government could really never bring into the program the civil service.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. As the sometime pinch-hitter for the Secretary, I quite often met with those groups of businessmen and they were very stimulating sessions. They gave much to us in the Department, as well as perhaps our opportunity for us to convey something to them.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had some outstanding farmers, even from Illinois, who have participated in this program. We may have a couple present.

Mr. Stoutenberg, would you like to carry on now and introduce some of the other overseers.

Senator PRESSLER. I might just have a question here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Senator Pressler, please.

Senator PRESSLER. I want to compliment you on your fine performance here. I am sure that as you go across the country you have a lot of participation.

Do you invite labor and farm organizations to contribute and be a part? Have you extended that invitation or is it strictly a business proposition?

Mr. STOUTENBERG. If I might step in, Senator Pressler; yes. The hallmark of the Council and its regional activities is that it reaches out for a cross section of Americans, so that when we travel out to farms we visit both the farmers, the growers and we learn about local issues even with their international implications as the growers might see them.

The diplomats will also meet with the workers and find out about agricultural production from the point of view of those groups of Americans. We make a very determined effort to include the point of view of all the Americans that we come in contact with.

The Council itself does not have a political point of view. What it seeks to do is to encourage Americans who do have those points of view to share them with the foreign diplomats so that the diplomats come away understanding the broad cross section of the opinions that exist in the region.

Senator PRESSLER. I am going to have to go vote and I have to preside over the Senate; it is something we freshmen Senators have to do. So I will not be able to come back. Again, I do want to compliment all of you on your testimony here today.

The CHAIRMAN. I would also like to, at this time, recognize a few of the diplomats that I notice are present—we have more diplomats here than we have had sometimes even for sessions involving their own countries.

One of our most distinguished diplomats and great friend, Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal of Egypt, I wonder if you would mind rising so we can acknowledge your presence. [Applause.]

Our good friend, and also distinguished diplomat, Ambassador Punch Coomaraswamy of Singapore. [Applause.]

Mr. Alonso Alvarez deToledo, Minister of Spain. [Applause.]

We also have written statements that have been submitted by Ambassador Coomaraswamy, Ambassador Yoshio Okawara from Japan, Ambassador Tadhg O'Sullivan from Ireland, Ambassador Fakhri Saghiyyah of Lebanon, and Mr. Toshihiro Kiribuchi, the Chief Representative of the Minister of Finance from the Government of Japan's New York office. Their statements will be incorporated in the record at this point.

[The statements referred to follow:]

AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE,
*Washington, D.C., June 1, 1983.*

Senator CHARLES H. PERCY,
*Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As one who has benefitted considerably from the activities of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, I feel I should convey to you my appreciation of the Council and its work.

I have participated in four or five of the programmes arranged by the Council for diplomats based in Washington and in New York. These ranged from what can be described as familiarisation visits to parts of the country not normally visited by diplomats to intensive seminars on topics like development in the Third World.

I regard the activities of the Council as important and useful both to the United States and the members of the diplomatic community for three reasons. They are:

(a) Not unnaturally by reason of it being their base foreign diplomats tend to get to know the Northeast corridor and except for occasional visits rarely go to other parts of the United States. When they do, it is generally for business meetings and they see little outside the people they go to meet at the respective cities visited. The Council in organising tours outside Washington always arranges a few days with host families in various parts of the United States. This enables the diplomats on the programme not merely to get to know a part of the United States outside the Northeast corridor but also to get to know an American family in informal surroundings and at a very human level. One may call part of the Council's activities a "people to people" exchange. I had occasion to benefit from two such visits where, in addition to staying with host families, I and other diplomats on the programme had opportunities to meet the people of the locality in informal surroundings.

(b) In addition to getting to know host families, a foreign diplomat gets to know a different part of the country and the economic activities of the area. Visits are arranged to schools, factories, farms and other areas of economic activity. In the ordinary course of one's work a diplomat gets to read about these places only in newspapers and a first hand encounter with such institutions is always rewarding and makes one get to know the United States so much better.

(c) Whether for working sessions alone or for working sessions combined with familiarisation tours, the Council is always able to attract top-level executives from large American corporations to participate in the discussions and seminars. I have participated in three such sessions and with no record kept, both corporation executives and diplomats are always frank. A full and free exchange of views takes place not in confrontational style but in an extremely friendly atmosphere. It is not uncommon to find both the diplomats and the executives divided on any particular issue. I regard these meetings of mind as extremely valuable. They make an important contribution to a diplomat's understanding of the problems and the opportunities that any foreign country has.

I am heartened by the fact that the Executive Council is supported by a broad range of US corporations. With your own background in a major corporation and your long service on the Foreign Relations Committee I know you are already aware of the Council's activities. I thought it appropriate that a foreign diplomat (who I like to think you know well) should share with you his experience of the

activities of the Council and bring to your notice the deep appreciation of the work of the Council and its officers.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

PUNCH COOMARASWAMY.

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EMBASSY OF JAPAN,
*Washington, D.C., June 16, 1983.*

I find it very significant and commendable that leaders of the business sector of the United States have taken the initiative in establishing the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. This organization allows private citizens of America the unique opportunity to bring foreign diplomats from all countries of the world into their homes and communities in order to promote better understanding of cultures, political and economic systems, and histories of people everywhere.

It is my understanding that a number of my countrymen have participated in twenty-six programs of the Council. and that they have come away from these programs with a sense of achievement and satisfaction in experiencing something valuable which could not have been obtained elsewhere.

This summer's Salmon River Conference and Colorado River Conference are an outstanding example of the kind of forum the Council provides for foreign diplomats to exchange views with prominent U.S. business leaders and government officials. I understand that the environment will enable participants to enjoy the atmosphere of open air where they can promote intimacy on a person-to-person and family-to-family basis.

I would like to express my appreciation. as well as that of the Japanese participants in the Council's programs, to the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats for their work in providing the extra dimension of interpersonal contacts which are so vital for promoting international understanding and insight into the finer aspects of foreign cultures.

YOSHIO OKAWANA,
*Ambassador of Japan.*

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND,
*Washington, D.C., June 16, 1983.*

When the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats was established in the early sixties, certain important political changes were taking place in the world. The great movement towards self-determination and independence precipitated by World War II had already reached its climax. More and more fledgling nations were joining the world community and even greater numbers of diplomats were entering the United Nations in New York and setting up house along Embassy Row in Washington.

The idea of bringing these diplomats into personal contact with the American people was assisted by the wisdom of Adlai Stevenson, who saw that this participation in American everyday life would not only give foreign representatives a greater understanding of American society, but would also help those whom they met here to learn something of the changes taking place in a world in which the responsibilities and interests of the United States were rapidly increasing.

In those early days of the Council, I myself was a diplomat working at the United Nations and participated in some of the Council's programmes. Even if, as a representative of Ireland, I had a certain advantage over most of my colleagues in adapting to life in the United States—for the friendship and kinship between our two countries is well known—I nevertheless greatly valued the opportunity of meeting Americans in a relaxed atmosphere, outside the formal and at times unreal world of UN diplomacy, and of making friendships which have endured ever since.

Today, another great change is taking place in the world, more fundamental than the independence movement of the fifties and sixties, and far more complex. This evolution shows itself as economic rather than political, but it will eventually affect all parts of our society. In the view of some, the world is moving from an oil-based economy to what is already being called a "post-industrial society." We

are certainly in a period of technological change and fundamental restructuring of industry, with all its consequences in terms of redundancies, plant closures and the introduction of new working methods. This process, and the hardships it entails for so many, will continue until industry has adapted itself to new factors of production, when it will embark on a new journey, into a new economic age.

Meanwhile, there are fresh tasks and problems for those of us who work in diplomacy, and there is a greater challenge to the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. It is encouraging to see that the Council is already equipping itself to meet this challenge. Its programmes have taken on a new depth and seriousness over the years and the Wilderness Conferences, just to mention one programme in which young officers from my Embassy have participated, provide an imaginative forum for the discussion of the problems of today. The work of the Council is more necessary now than ever and I wish it continued success in the development of its programmes.

TADHG O'SULLIVAN.

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PERMANENT MISSION OF LEBANON TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
*New York, N.Y., June 15, 1983.*

Mr. JAMES STOUTENBERG,
*Executive Director, Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats,*
*New York, N.Y.*

DEAR JIM: As I look back over the past nine years, I can write you without any stops in my mind that my service in the United States, particularly at the United Nations, would not have been complete, had it not been for the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

You have been kind and generous to us and invited us to see various aspects of American life from the ultrasophisticated electronics industries to farms and Indian Reservations. During the conferences which you sponsored we have met and befriended many senior corporate executives. We have talked and argued freely and often without inhibitions. Our stay in America was thus highly rewarded and enriched.

As Sonya and I are preparing to leave the United States, we would like to thank you and in particular to thank Mrs. Ellen Stoutenberg for the tremendous work and efforts made to ensure the success of the programs initiated and executed by the Council over the years.

We assure you of our appreciation and wish you all the best in all your endeavors.

FAKHRI SAGHIYYAH,
*Ambassador.*

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GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN,
MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
*New York, N.Y.*

Having been given the chance to participate in the various activities of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, I found them of great benefit in several respects.

I have had the opportunity to meet with diplomats of other countries, officials of the State Department, staff of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Congress and executives of active American international corporations. It enabled me to develop friendships and deeper dialogues with them and to discuss important international issues informally and frankly.

The Council provided me a chance to see various regions of the country and people in local communities. Through these opportunities, I realized the diversities of the United States and that it is a misconception to judge the country only on the basis of seeing New York City and Washington, D.C.

Finally, as I leave the United States, I can say that through the Council I am aware of the vastness of the country, the kindness, generosity and magnanimity of the American people as a leading nation of the free world.

TOSHIHIRO KIRIBUCHI,
*Chief Representative of the Ministry of Finance.*

Mr. STOUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, there is also Mr. Julio Gil from Venezuela who has joined us this morning. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. We are delighted to have you.

Mr. STOUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce at this point the chairman of our board of directors, who would like to convey some information about the governance of the Council and also some of the new programs that we are now offering.

**STATEMENT OF PETER STEIL, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, AND MANAGING DIRECTOR, MORGAN STANLEY INTERNATIONAL, NEW YORK, N.Y.**

Mr. STEIL. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Senator Pell. It is a privilege for me to have this opportunity to report to you briefly about the Executive Council's governance and our new regional briefings program.

The CHAIRMAN. We regretfully just noticed there is a vote on. We are at the tail end of that vote; that means there is just 5 minutes left. We will have to recess for 4 or 5 minutes until we can go down and vote and come right back.

[A brief recess was taken.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you might be interested in that vote. We had no idea what it was. It was a Weicker amendment, very simple and straightforward, just to raise Senators' salaries from $60,000 to $100,000. [Laughter.]

I will not tell you how we hoped the outcome would come out but will tell you how we voted. We both voted against it. [Laughter.]

Now, please go right ahead.

Mr. STEIL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As Jim Stoutenberg referred earlier, the Council's current stewardship structure really evolved from the period during which former Senator Brady was chairman of the board of the Executive Council.

It has two components, a board of overseers and a board of directors.

The board of overseers is the base of support for the organization, providing over more than half of the Council's budget. The overseers are the chief executive officers of the benefactor organizations which are basically multinational in their operations and are very concerned about our international relations across the board.

The directors are all members who have been personally involved in one or more of the Council's programs. They are actively involved in directing the Council from a policy standpoint and supporting the staff in its day-to-day efforts.

There is a committee structure which further facilitates the close working relationship between the Council and the directors.

On this occasion, the Council is formally inaugurating its regional briefing program, with the Council's commitment to provide the opportunity for all newly arrived diplomats to be introduced to our policy-making process and to our country on a grassroots basis. We are able to undertake this program because of a challenge grant the Council has received from the Ford Foundation.

They were seeking an approach which would have a significant impact on diplomatic understanding and international relations and targeted the Executive Council as an organization ideally suited to work with the State Department toward this end. Critical to the Coun-

cil's fulfilling our commitment will be matching the Ford grant, as is required for its funding, and building a broad base of support for this program in the years ahead.

I think there are few more moving experiences for Americans across the country than to see the Council's wagon trains reenacted in recreational vehicles or motor vans, as is depicted in the photograph back here where you see a new set of foreigners, not necessarily settlers, but diplomats moving across our country and learning about what makes America great on a one-to-one personal basis.

While this regional briefing program is a new program for the Council, we are confident that it will meet its objective of introducing newly arrived diplomats to Americans. In the end, we depend upon your constituents, our fellow citizens, to communicate what is real about America to foreign diplomats on a one-to-one basis.

Those of us who have been exposed to the Council have found it to be most successful in quiet ways, providing meaningful and memorable experience for diplomats and Americans alike.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed.

Are we going to have testimony from Merle and Donna Woodrow? I am very pleased to welcome my own constituents. We are very proud that they are from Tazewell County. Mrs. Woodrow is a member of the county board. We have been working with the Woodrows on a flood-control project in the county, so they have a variety of interests in addition to farming and diplomacy.

They are here to testify this morning not on flood-control in Tazewell County, but on diplomacy in the United States.

## STATEMENT OF MERLE AND DONNA WOODROW, GREEN VALLEY, ILL.

Ms. WOODROW. Thank you. First of all, I would like to correct one thing. We are farmers and we are from around Peoria, but let us pinpoint it down to our little village of Green Valley, which is in Tazewell County, as you said.

We are the grassroots that you have been talking about here today. We have had these visitors at our family farm five times when they have come to Illinois. Also, as recipient of a wonderful trip to Africa. Our family—and this is what our statement is about—is our visit with Armel Koudou, from the Ivory Coast, who was a guest in our home in 1976.

He stayed with us, and after he had returned to New York he called us several times and then when he returned to his country he asked us to come to visit him. Two of our sons, who were at that time 23 and 16, went with us to the Ivory Coast and we visited Armel's home country and met his family.

We got to see what their country was like. It was a great learning experience for us. On a day not unlike today in Washington, D.C., we made a visit to Armel's home village, as this picture shows over here. We were given a grand welcome. We were not expecting this, but it was a royal welcome, I would say, and we learned about his village.

The people there were marvelous. They welcomed us with open arms. They asked us even to stay when they found out we were farmers.

However, as much as I enjoyed the village and the people, I think I do still prefer Illinois and our cornfields that we have.

As I said, we were entertained royally there. Armel introduced us to many things of his country. We learned many things, just as we hoped that we had been able to show him things about our country and our little farm. We have had several visitors in our home, but Armel is the one whom we have kept in touch with more than anyone else.

But departing now from the statement here, I would like to tell you a little bit about what we do when they come to our farm. First of all, we are the last stop on a farm trip tour that day, and they come to the farm to visit, to see how the corn is harvested. They ride in the corn-picker. Sometimes it is very difficult to get them out of there after they get on. They want to stay there and ride.

We show them how we dry the corn and how we store the corn. We also treat them to the good American drink of apple cider and with homemade cookies and doughnuts. They are also asked to sign a sheet of shelf paper which I will show you here, and then it comes out to be this, after they have all signed it. We put some pictures on it and it goes to our office there in the shop. We always tell visitors who come to the farm about these.

They also are recipient of the seed corn hat. I believe that you have received one when we were here once before.

The CHAIRMAN. I have.

Ms. WOODROW. As I said, it has been a very rewarding experience for us. We are very definitely in favor of the idea of the Executive Council and what they are doing. I might add one thing which we did acquire through the diplomatic visits, is that we acquired a daughter-in-law.

In 1980, her parents were a host family and our son, the one who had gone to Africa, were married 2 years later, and this is where they had met, so we also thank the Executive Council for bringing those two together.

But it is a wonderful program. I very, very highly endorse it and I wish everyone could participate in it as we have, having them as our guests and also returning as a guest.

[Mr. and Mrs. Woodrow's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MERLE AND DONNA WOODROW

In 1976, we were invited to welcome into our home Armel Koudou-Aziegbo from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ivory Coast. It was the first time we had taken part in the programs of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. We were given a background sheet on Armel which told us in his own words enough about him so that we could plan an interesting visit. The Council advised us to be ourselves and permit Armel to join us in our daily routine. It was good advice, because it is the thing we do best.

Those 2 days which Armel spent with us went by so fast; we found so much in common and were so at home with each other that I can only say that when he left, we felt we were losing a new member of the family. It was very moving for us to find that Armel felt the same way, for he called us many times from the Ivory Coast once he returned to his country. When he invited our family to visit him in the Ivory Coast, there was no question about the answer. We would go, no matter what the obstacles—farmers always have obstacles in the way of doing anything but taking care of the crops.

On July 27, 1979, the Woodrow Family—Merle, Donna, and two of our sons, John and Robert—arrived in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast for a 1-week visit. Armel and his two daughters, Evelyn and Marie Claude, met us at the airport.

We stayed in a hotel, as Armel has only a small apartment, but we ate in his home and he was our host for the entire visit. He took us to see many things around Abidjan—the open air market and fish market were particularly interesting to us.

Armel never tried to hide anything. We saw poverty and wealth, although we never saw extreme poverty or starvation. Any questions we asked he always tried to answer. People were unfailingly friendly to us.

The highlight of our visit was our journey to Armel's home village of Doubroulilie. His mother lives there, as does his grandfather who is over 90 years old.

We were totally unprepared for the welcome we were given. They knew we were coming, but we didn't know they knew. We were met about a quarter of a mile from the village gate by a group of singing children. They escorted us to the village. At the gate, the adults met us. We know now how royalty must feel, for that is the kind of welcome we received. Of the approximately 600 people of the village, we believe there were 400 to greet us. Some were playing drums and other musical instruments.

We were escorted to the village meeting hall where we were entertained by three religious groups of the village—Catholic, Protestant and the village religion. Armel translated all of the speeches for us. The Town Council sat on one side of the building, dressed in colorful robes and wearing hats with pure gold on them. They told us that as farmers, if we would stay, they would build us a home and give us land to farm. Armel had to explain to them why we could not do this or take the sheep they gave us. Instead, they gave Merle a bright robe similar to the one the men of the village wore.

We were later told that we were the first Americans, though not the first foreigners, to visit the village, which is a great honor to us.

Before we left for the Ivory Coast, we decided as a family to strive not to do anything to offend our hosts, to be open to new things. We found in welcoming new things we enriched our lives. We fell in love with the country and the people. The village and Armel have invited us to return, and we will. Armel, the village, and Africa will always be a part of our lives.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thank you very much indeed. I would like to just say that I have seen the impact that foreign visitation can have on my children.

My daughter Sharon went to the Central African Republic, as it was called then, for an entire summer. There were 17 students and they carried bricks, hauled cement, and built the first school in this town. We can never get her to do the dishes at home, but she laid bricks and carried cement—Warren, you know Sharon very well and—that had a tremendous impact on her whole life.

Our daughter Gail, who speaks fluent Arabic and French, has lived in Tunisia 3½ years now, getting her doctorate. Now she is finishing up at Berkeley, but that overseas experience is tremendous. Just as they give us so much when we go abroad, now we have the chance to contribute back to them an insight about our country.

Ms. WOODROW. May I add also that when the diplomats come they might feel a little restricted. By the time they come into the homes of the host families—they are not as open, perhaps, not knowing what to expect. By the time they leave on Monday afternoon, a firm friendship has developed between these people, and they are really talking and really visiting with people by that time.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much indeed. We are proud of both of you.

I would like to mention we are not only proud of two Illinoisans that are here today. I am also very proud of the great interest in the program by the man who had more of an impact on my getting into public life than any other person, for better or for worse, I might say,

Dr. Robert Golden and Mrs. Golden. They are here from the American Enterprise Institute, and they are interested in this program, and their dedication to this program is very meaningful to me.

Are there others that you would like to have testify? Mr. Miller, our long-time colleague, is there something you would like to say at this point?

## STATEMENT OF WILLIAM G. MILLER, ASSOCIATE DEAN, THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY, MEDFORD, MASS.

Mr. MILLER. Just a few words, Mr. Chairman and Senator Pell.

I am associate dean at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and we have a working relationship with the Council on Foreign Diplomats. They are a great help to institutions like Fletcher because they bring a practical experience to bear on an academic institution.

The relationship with the Council has enabled us at Fletcher to teach our students better and equip them more effectively for their future careers in foreign policy and international affairs generally.

You might be interested in a program that we are instituting this fall with the Council. This is a briefing program of 3 or 4 days for 20 diplomats who have just recently arrived in the country, and it is on the American foreign policy process, some of the mysteries involved there. What is included is the relationship between the Congress and the executive branch, our strategic policies or trade policies, among other things.

The instructors at Fletcher are all former Ambassadors. Ted Elliott, who was our Ambassador in Afghanistan; Leonard Unger, who had a distinguished career in the Far East; Hugh Ryan in Central America; John Roche who was in the Johnson White House, and I do a little bit of teaching myself.

It is an attempt to bring to bear the practical experience that American diplomats have had and to teach the American process to them.

Mr. Chairman, that is all I have to say.

[Mr. Miller's prepared statement follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM G. MILLER

My name is William G. Miller. I am Associate Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Adjunct Professor of International Politics. I have served in the Foreign Service of the United States and in various capacities in the United States Senate. My last assignment in the Senate was as Staff Director of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

It is a pleasure to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to commend the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats has a distinguished record of solid, constructive help to academic institutions concerned with the study of international affairs by providing an empirical counterpart to the academic analysis of foreign affairs. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy has valued its relationship with the Executive Council because of its direct involvement with diplomats and the practicalities of the world of diplomacy. John P. Roche, who served for a number of years in the Johnson White House and is now Academic Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, has had a long association with the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, has made cogent observations about the historical innocence of Americans. In so many ways this innocence is one of our strengths, he believes, but in the area of international affairs, it is

a burden. Recently, he told of the occasion when the distinguished English historian Sir Denis Brogan turned to him in a moment of perplexed whimsy, "John, you Americans think every problem in the world began the day you discovered it." Brogan went on to tell how, on a visit to Lorraine in 1946, he asked a farmer about the difficulties of the Nazi occupation. The Frenchman meditated for a moment, then replied, "Nasty—but not as bad as the Swedes." The Swedes had not been in the area since the 1620s!

The work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats carried on so dynamically under the leadership of Ellen Stoutenberg and James Stoutenberg and their able staff, has done a great service by making it possible for foreign diplomats to see American life at first-hand and to enable American institutions, such as universities, to benefit from their practical experience. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, which is the oldest professional school of international affairs in the United States, has joined with the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats in two programs. The first is the Visiting Diplomats Program, which is now in effect at Claremont College, Spelman College, Wake Forest College and Tufts University, enables foreign diplomats with backgrounds in specialized fields to visit educational institutions for several days of programs on international issues with students, faculty and business leaders. The presence of foreign diplomats in the classroom is a stimulating way with great immediacy to teach the realities of how governments throughout the world conduct their international relations. The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats intends to expand this program of intensive visits by foreign diplomats to a wide spectrum of colleges and universities in the coming years. The mutual benefits to the academic institutions on the one hand, and the diplomats on the other, are clear. What better way is there for foreign diplomats to learn about the thinking of the future American leaders than to spend some time in their colleges and universities; and what better way to teach the practicalities of foreign affairs would there be for students than to discuss with experienced diplomats in the classroom and in informal gatherings the intricacies of the diplomatic craft.

In conjunction with the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy will hold a three-day seminar in October for 20 selected foreign diplomats on the subject of "The American Foreign Policy Process." This seminar is intended as an introduction into the mysteries of how the United States makes foreign policy, and will include among other things, the following topics: the role of the President, policy making in the Executive and Legislative branches, the role of Congress, the media and lobbies, strategic policy and United States trade policy.

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy has always put a stress on including among its faculty practitioners of international affairs. Participants in the seminar include former Ambassadors such as Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., now Dean of the Fletcher School, Professor Hewson A. Ryan who served in USIA and as Ambassador in Latin America, and Professor Leonard Unger, who had a long and distinguished career in Asian affairs. Also participating will be Dean Roche, Ambassador John Scanlan, Associate Dean William G. Miller, Professor Banjamin J. Cohen, Professor Lawrence G. Franko, Professor Alan K. Henrikson and Professor Robert Pfaltzgraff. Almost all of these faculty members have had considerable experience in the United States Government in significant international affairs positions. It is our hope that the interaction between the foreign diplomats who are serving in the United States and the Fletcher faculty will be a stimulating and informative experience. We also hope that our students, some of whom will be leaders in international affairs in the future, will benefit from the presence of the distinguished group of foreign diplomats invited by the Executive Council.

Fletcher is very pleased to be associated with the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats believing that we share a common purpose in deepening mutual understanding between different nations and different countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Miller.

Do I understand that Tom Clausen, president of the World Bank, is in the room? Is Tom Clausen here?

Mr. STOUTENBERG. Senator, he was here.

The CHAIRMAN. He was here. Well, I am sorry. I wanted to acknowledge him while he was present. I did not see him sitting out there, but I just had a note that he had been here.

We have, regretfully, another vote on now and so we will have to recess for 5 minutes again and be right back.

[A brief recess was taken.]

The CHAIRMAN. I might say this is not the way to run a railroad, but it is what we have to put up with in the Senate. Ordinarily, we do not start to convene the Senate until 12 noon, but these are not ordinary days. We have been getting in early in the morning and that breaks into all the hearings. Every hearing has to recess while we go over and vote. I am very sorry for the inconvenience this has caused all of you.

Now who would we like to have as our next witness?

Mr. STOUTENBERG. Thank you, Senator Percy. At this point I would like to introduce Dr. Herschelle S. Challenor, who is a member of the board of trustees of Spelman College. She would like to tell the committee about the Council's work with the school in helping to set up a program of international study at that college.

[Ms. Challenor's biographical sketch follows:]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HERSCHELLE S. CHALLENOR

Herschelle Sullivan Challenor. B.A., Spelman College, Sorbonne, M.A., Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Ph. D., Columbia University in Political Science: International Relations and African Affairs.

In May 1978 she was appointed Senior Liaison Officer of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) office in Washington and became the Director of that office in January 1983. Between August 1975 and May 1978 she served as the Staff Director for the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations at the U.S. House of Representatives. Prior to that time she was Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, 1969–72; A fellow of the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs in Chicago, 1970–71; American Political Science Studies Association Congressional Fellow in the office of Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., 1972–73; Program Officer in the Office of Higher Education and Research, Ford Foundation, 1973–75.

Dr. Challenor is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and has published articles on Africa and United States policy toward Africa. She has travelled widely in Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle-East and South Asia, and lived in Benin from 1967–68.

## STATEMENT OF HERSCHELLE S. CHALLENOR, SPELMAN COLLEGE, AND DIRECTOR, UNESCO LIAISON OFFICE, ATLANTA, GA.

Ms. CHALLENOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a pleasure to appear before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in support of the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

I am not here in my official capacity as Director of the UNESCO liaison office here in Washington, but rather to represent Spelman College, which participates in the Council's international relations seminar program.

As the only graduate of Spelman College in its 101-year history who obtained a doctoral degree specializing in international affairs, and as a consultant to the college on its new minor in international affairs, I am

quite familiar with the importance of this program for the institution and also of the significance of private sector support in this area.

Under the enlightened leadership of its president, Donald Stewart, assisted by the program coordinator, Dr. Martin Yannick, Spelman College has participated in the international relations seminars program for 2 years and is looking toward more institutionalized cooperation with the Council in the future. Indeed, in the 1983–84 economic year, the Council will play a significant role in the new minor in international affairs just established by Spelman.

They will provide four diplomats, either businessmen or U.N. system officials, as lecturers for the introductory course on international relations as well as a course on economic development.

Spelman College, through the assistance of the Council, has established a close, working relationship with the Fletcher School of Diplomacy. Fletcher faculty will lecture at Spelman next year and an internship for Spelman students at Fletcher is anticipated.

We are all familiar with the aphorism that a diplomat is an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country, or the definition that a diplomat is someone who can tell you to go to hell and have you actually look forward to the trip. However, programs such as those sponsored by the Council——

The CHAIRMAN. I have not heard that before. [Laughter.]

Ms. CHALLENOR. Programs sponsored by the Council, be they the wilderness conferences, the regional briefings, or the international relations seminars, enable international representatives to shed the cloak of officialdom, however briefly, in order to engage in candid discussion with their counterparts from other countries, American citizens or students, in order to discuss those global issues that confront all mankind.

We in the Spelman College family strongly support the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. These 2-day visitations by international affairs specialists provide an opportunity for students to test theoretical notions on interstate relations with officials responsible for the practical implementation of foreign policy. They provide a chance for students to understand more clearly the employment opportunities available in international affairs. Finally, they provide a relaxed setting for often-agonizing appraisals of thorny international crisis.

If the Council's program has been good for us, we believe that interaction with us has been instructive for them. For Spelman, as you know, Mr. Chairman, reflects the other America. Spelman was founded in 1881 as a private liberal arts college for African-American women. It is part of what is known as the Atlanta University Center, which comprises four undergraduate schools, a graduate school, a medical school, and a theological seminary.

As such, these institutions are part of the over 114 historically black colleges which even today educate over 50 percent of black college graduates. Long noted for its extensive and forward-looking black middle class and the leadership the city has ultimately shown in forging harmonius race relations, Atlanta represents a unique slice of America. The diplomats who go to Spelman as part of their program meet with city officials, interact with faculty in seminars from such other institutions, such as Emory University, visit, of course, the Coca

Cola Company, and socialize with the citizens of Atlanta at receptions given in their honor.

Mr. Chairman, my earlier reference to the small number of Spelman graduates involved in international careers was a preface to a point I would like to make at this time. When Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., from Atlanta, gave his pivotal speech at Riverside Church on the Vietnam war in 1965, and when Jesse Jackson visited Arafat, following then-Ambassador Young's resignation in the wake of a meeting with the Palestine Liberation Organization, some Americans questioned black interest in foreign policy.

However, especially now in this period of global interdependence where increasingly international crises affect domestic policies, all Americans have a stake in this Government's conduct of foreign affairs. This interest, be it latent or manifest, this interest of black Americans, has not been sufficiently nourished by a perception that career opportunities in international affairs are readily available to blacks.

Secretary of State Shultz, in his annual report to the Congress on equal opportunity efforts for fiscal year 1982 signed on February 22, 1983, documents the severe underrepresentation of blacks in the Foreign Service, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Agency for International Development.

Programs such as those fostered by the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats kindle the interest of blacks and other Americans in international affairs. The private sector is indeed to be commended for its support of the Council's activities.

However, private sector involvement in stimuating interest and awareness of foreign affairs in the country at large, and in the black community in particular, does not eliminate the need for greater—to use a term that has fallen in disrepute—constructive engagement by the Government in this area. "A Nation at Risk," a recent report on education and its deterioration in this country, was preceded by a previous report which acknowledged the woefully inadequate understanding college and high school students in this country have of international affairs.

Mr. Chairman. as we enter the 21st century, it is apparent that north-south problems rival east-west tensions as potential sources of international conflict. It is further evident that the peoples of the majority of the nations in the world look like the people in the minority of America.

This country should not neglect to capitalize on the extraordinary asset of its racial and cultural diversity. U.S. representation abroad and in the international programs that exist in virtually every department of this Government should reflect the composition of the entire American society.

An important first step in stimulating careers in international affairs and providing contacts with international officials of various sectors of the American society, has been taken by the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats and they ought to be commended for their efforts.

Thank you very much.

[Ms. Challenor's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HERSCHELLE S. CHALLENOR

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats.

I am here not in my official capacity with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, but to represent Spelman College, one of the institutions that participates in the Council's international relations seminars program. As the only graduate of Spelman in its 101 year history to have completed a doctoral degree specializing in international affairs and as a consultant to the College on the establishment of a minor program of study in this field, I am not only familiar with the importance of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats' program for the College, but also of the significance of private sector involvement in this area.

Under the enlightened leadership of its President Donald Stewart assisted by the program coordinator Dr. Martin Yannick, Spelman College has participated in the international relations seminars program for 2 years and is looking toward more institutionalized cooperation with the Council in the future. Indeed during, the 1983–84 academic year the Council will play a significant role in the new minor in international affairs just established by Spelman. We will program four diplomats, businessmen or U.N. system officials as lecturers for both the Introductory International Relations Course as well as the one of Developmental Economics. With the assistance of the Council, Spelman College has established a close relationship with the Fletcher School of Diplomacy in Medford, Massachusetts. Fletcher faculty will lecture Spelman students next year and internship for Spelman students at Fletcher is anticipated. To date, participants coming to Spelman under the program have included a U.N. official from the Council on Namibia, and diplomats from Jamaica, Peru, Morocco, and India.

We are all familiar with the aphorism which suggests that a diplomat is an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country or the definition that a diplomat is someone who can tell you to go to hell and have you actually look forward to the trip. However programs such as those sponsored by the Council, be they the Wilderness Conferences, the regional briefings of the international seminars, enable international representatives to shed however briefly the cloak of officialdom and engage in candid discussions with their counterparts from other countries students and average citizens, about those global issues that confront all humankind.

Unlike Kenneth Adelman and Warren Christopher, I have not attended a Wilderness Conference, but have participated in similar meetings such as the African-American Institute Dialogues in Africa and the Wilton Park Seminars in the United Kingdom and therefore know that in such settings a lot of mutual learning takes place. Having worked summers as a graduate student as language escort for the United States Information Agency International Visitors Program, I know first hand the value for both the guests and the hosts of close interaction of foreign officials with American families. Even the embarrassing moments have utility. On one trip a lovely Southern collegian whose father was a university professor, advanced the theory to a Zaire visitor that the Congo crisis of 1960 occurred because of widespread famine and since Africans were cannibals captured enemy troops helped alleviate starvation. The Zairois in question subsequently became a Minister of Education and has retained a special interest in the United States.

My United Nations colleagues in the glass house in Turtle Bay, diplomats and international organization officials here in Washington often find that our natural circuit revolves around the resident diplomatic or U.N. system community. For reasons of linguistic and cultural differences or exaggerated discretion about involvements with non-official host country nationals, we often neglect the opportunity to interface with the American people. The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats Program makes such contacts both possible and rewarding.

We in the Spelman College family strongly support the work of the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. These 2-day visitations by international affairs specialists provide an opportunity for students to test theoretical notions of interstate relations with officials responsible for the practical implementation of foreign policy. It provides a chance for students to understand more clearly the employment options available in international affairs. It provides a relaxed setting for often agonizing appraisals of thorny international crisis.

If the Council's program has been good for us, we believe that interaction with us has been instructive for them. For Spelman, after all, reflects the other Amer-

ica. Mr. Chairman, as you and your colleagues are aware, Spelman, founded in 1881, is a private liberal arts college in Atlanta for African-American women. It is part of what is known as the Atlanta University Center which consists of four undergraduate institutions, one graduate and one medical school and a theological seminary. As such, they are part of the over 114 historically black colleges in the United States which even today educate over 50 percent of black college graduates. Traditionally the Atlanta University complex has rivalled Howard University as a center for black higher education and intellectual achievement. Long noted for its extensive and forward looking black middle class and the leadership the city has ultimately shown in forging harmonious race relations, Atlanta represents a unique slice of America. The Diplomats who go to Spelman as part of the international seminars program meet with city officials, interact with faculty and students from such other institutions as Emory University, visit the Coca Cola company and socialize with the citizens of Atlanta at receptions given in their honor.

Mr. Chairman, my earlier reference to the small number of Spelman graduates involved in international careers was a preface to the point I would like to stress at this time. When Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his pivotal speech at Riverside Church in 1965 criticizing the war in Vietnam and when then Jesse Jackson met with Arafat following then Ambassador Andrew Young's forced resignation in the wake of a meeting with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, some Americans questioned this black interest in foreign policy. However in this period of global interdependence where increasingly international crises affect domestic policies, all Americans have a stake in this Government's conduct of foreign affairs. As pointed out in my article on this subject, there has been a sustained black interest in certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy albeit with varying intensity. Black-American efforts to influence such policy has fluctuated and been related to their evolving social and political status in this country.

This interest, be it latent or manifest, has not been sufficiently nourished by a perception that career opportunities in international affairs were readily available to blacks. Secretary of State George Shultz's annual report to Congress on equal opportunity efforts for fiscal year 1982 signed on February 22, 1983 documents the severe underrepresentation of blacks in the Foreign Service, the U.S. Information Agency and the Agency for International Development.

Programs such as those fostered by the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats kindle the interest of blacks and other Americans in international affairs. The private sector is to be commended for its support of the Council's activities.

However, private sector involvement in stimulating interest in and awareness of foreign relations in the country at large and in the black community in particular, does not eliminate the need for greater constructive engagement by the Government in this area. "A Nation at Risk", the recent report on the deterioration of education in this country was preceded by an earlier report that lamented the woefully inadequate knowledge college and high school students have of international affairs. The Congress and the executive branch should work together to expand assistance to international affairs programs and language instruction in post-secondary institutions and provide more support for research as a stimulus to improve faculty capability in this interdisciplinary field.

Mr. Chairman, as we enter the 21st century, it is apparent that North-South problems rival East-West tensions as potential sources of international conflict. It is further evident that the peoples of the majority of the nations in the world look like people in the minority in America. This country should not neglect to capitalize on the extraordinary asset of its racial and cultural diversity. U.S. representation abroad and in the international programs that exist in virtually every department of this Government should reflect the composition of the society at large.

An important first step of providing contacts between international officials and various segments of American society and arranging meetings to examine foreign policy issues is being undertaken skillfully by the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats. Perhaps the next step is up to the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Dr. Challenor. Thank you very much indeed.

Mr. McLean, you have not testified. You are testifying in your capacity not as executive vice president and chief financial officer of Sperry Corp., but can you identify what capacity you are testifying in?

**STATEMENT OF VINCENT McLEAN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, SPERRY CORP., VICE CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, NEW YORK, N.Y.**

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. Chairman, I am testifying on behalf of the wilderness conference portion of the Council's program.

Wilderness conferences take place on the rivers of the West, notably the Colorado and the Salmon. Its purpose is to introduce foreign diplomats, particularly those with economic and commercial duties to American businessmen, representatives of the U.S. Government, the World Bank, and other international institutions, where we spend a few days in the river making equals of everyone and breaking down the normal barriers of communication.

We follow that up with a 2-day conference when we come out of the river. No one experiences the wilderness conference and comes out of the experience quite the same again. They all come out with new knowledge, new perspectives, new friendships. It affects all of us, the executives, our wives, the diplomats and their wives, and it has a profound influence, I believe, on those representatives of the East bloc countries that are sometimes participants in our programs.

Just to give you a brief view of the programs, they normally are about 50 in total. One-third are composed of diplomats, one-third of corporate and Government and staff representatives, and one-third, approximately, are wives that accompany us.

It is an experience of working together and building teamwork. It is a challenging experience, both mentally and physically. We paddle, we captain the rafts, we cook, we clean up, and we really get to know each other.

We follow that with a 2-day conference that is fairly free-form, where most of us or all of us are required to do a lot of work and dedication to getting ready for the conference. There are excellent position papers from all economic and political viewpoints that we are asked to read, and that forms some of the framework for our conferences, which are deeply involved in the international economic and political issues of our times. The readings are contemporary, or they can even be from Greek philosophy. They are wide-ranging and excellent and bring us all together.

We followup the river conferences, or the wilderness conferences, with associate conferences periodically. They have taken place at the Chase Manhattan Bank, World Bank, Atlantic Richfield Co. in Los Angeles, NCR in Dayton, and other institutions.

They are heavily represented by river people, or by the river participants, and the easy communications that we have established on the river clearly carries over into the associate conferences, even though there are several representatives at those conferences that may not have had the experience of the river. But we all get along, and I think we all add to the integration of our beliefs and thoughts with those of the foreign diplomatic leadership.

So I feel that the program is an excellent one both from the foreign diplomat's point of view and, as an American industrial representative, it has had a profound influence on me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed. I wonder if, while Warren Christopher is still here, I could ask him to come back for just a moment.

I would like all of us to think about a particuar question. I do not know any better group or cross section of this country that I could put this question to in an informal way, nor anyone better than Warren Christopher to draw upon his judgment, as I have so many times. The question has come up as to whether or not the President of the United States should meet, one on one, face to face, in the same room, with the now President, as of yesterday, of the Soviet Union and the man who holds the same power today, after 7 months, that Brezhnev did after 13 years in office. He has consolidated his power. He is the spokesman for the Soviet Union.

Both of these Chiefs of State really possess the power to destroy all life on this planet. They have that capability at hand. They are both subject to human frailities and they are subject to miscalculation and they are subject to all kinds of electronic mistakes.

I happened to be in a room at the time with Tom Watson, who will be testifying this afternoon, at a time in NORAD when a false signal came in and all hell broke loose. They thought missiles were really coming at us.

That episode subsequently was inaccurately written up in Readers Digest. The author of that story seemed to say that there was calm and peace, and they knew what they were doing. It was utter chaos. No one knew what they were doing, including us.

But the question has been, should they get together. Both governments have taken the position that we should wait until we have something really significant to announce, or decide, or sign. And the Soviets have said well. after all, President Ford and Brezhnev met when they signed SALT I.

I do not see anything in the immediate horizon of great significance that is going to be signable. I do not see much progress being made in many areas.

I think something has to happen. When things happen, they have to happen at the top. Then they start happening down below. You do not put the pressure from the bottom up. It comes from the top down.

I know, in my own experience, we had a bitter relationship with a competitor when I took over as president of Bell and Howell in January 1949, a bitter relationship. Now, competition is good, but that relationship was not good.

The first week, I went over to see the head of this other company and asked what was the basis for this bitterness that existed between these two companies that had a lot in common and needed to build an industry together.

He explained that it was a simple thing that went back years, to my predecessor, and we resolved it in 5 minutes and, though we competed heavily after that, there was not a word of bitterness uttered, and we worked together to expand the industry and strengthen the economy in many respects.

That was the first example I had, decades ago, that sometimes it is best to just sit down and talk and not just have so-called Soviet experts always telling the President what he should do, and advising him,

and so forth. The President ought to get a gage himself of who he is dealing with as an adversary and find out what we may have in common. We certainy have in common, at least, the preservation of the human race and life on this planet, and that ought to bring us somewhat together.

My question—with a long prelude to it—is under what conditions would you like to see, Secretary Christopher, the two Chiefs of State of the Soviet Union and the United States of America get together and have a face-to-face talk?

I raise the question in this morning's context, because the mayor of the town of Lawrenceville, Kans., wrote a letter to Andropov and said, I think you ought to meet with President Reagan. Why not meet right here in Lawrenceville, Kans., and I will be happy to host you.

It was not a brushoff that was given. The Soviet response, as I recall it, was something along the lines that they would be happy to consider summit sites if conditions for a summit can be worked out.

It was not an utter rejection, and the mayor of that small town in Kansas was emphasizing what a lot of people have emphasized to me, that this is a dangerous world we are living in. The reason the freeze movement, the reason the ground zero movement, the reason so many movements have started from the people and town hall meetings is that they are not sure governments are moving fast enough to cope with some of these problems.

Mr. Secretary, would you care to comment on that noncontroversial subject and give us the benefit of your wisdom?

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, I want to be careful not to be understood as making any kind of a political statement, or becoming involved in criticism of the President. My role here today would be quite undermined if my statement were seen along those lines and, indeed, I have tried, in private life, to refrain from that largely, because we had our chance and there is another chance now. So I do not want to be seen to be critical of either the President or Secretary Shultz.

With that prelude, I would say that I am deeply concerned about what I regard as a deterioration of United States-Soviet relations. It seems to me they have gone downhill very steadily since 1972 or 1973 at the height of détente. We probably expected too much of détente, but there is very little fabric left in the relationship at the present time.

The arms control discussions are about all that is left and we have three unratified treaties with the Soviet Union in the arms control field and that situation can only add, I would think, to the controversy.

There is a sequencing problem here that worries me very much. It is the one you referred to.

We wait to make progress until the two heads of government can meet when, in fact, the fundamental condition for making progress may be that the leaders meet with each other and establish some rapport.

I think there is a tremendous opportunity now for President Reagan and Mr. Andropov to meet and to get acquainted with each other, to exchange positions. I think they can meet, particularly because they are both new on the world scene, they have not been together, without the need to have some dramatic event bringing them together.

Putting it in a broader frame, Mr. Chairman, since getting back into private life, I have been very puzzled as to why it is we do not have more regular meetings with our principal advisory so that we have some communication.

You know, there is an annual economic summit which we prepare for with our allies. We have annual meetings with a number of other countries, and yet we do not have any regular forum with the Soviet Union.

If we could establish some sort of a regular dialog, then we would be in a situation where we did not have to have some great achievement in order to meet.

But I put emphasis on this sequencing question. You might call it, more colloquially, the chicken and egg problem, and I think we ought to get by that. We should at least have one meeting where they get to know each other and see if that will not, then, produce some results, because the present situation has led to a deterioration that deeply worries me.

I hope I can say that without injecting any kind of political controversy into the discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you have, whatsoever. The reason I ask the question is that this group has had so much experience over the years with what can be done with personal contact——

Mr. MCLEAN. I was just going to add, if I may, Mr. Chairman, that, of course, the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats is important and the sharing of information and knowledge is important. We are not out, in our conferences, to reach agreement. We do not come out with white papers, or agreement papers. We are as able to disagree, at the end of our conference, as at the beginning, but we all come out much wiser and much better people for it.

I believe that the President of the United States, as another great American, can also do the same thing, and he has demonstrated that at Cancun and Williamsburg where no great achievements have been recorded for history, but I think a clear, better understanding has come out of those, and I think the President could do well in the East bloc sector as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, very much.

I am going to, in 1 minute, ask for and do something I have not done in the 10 years I have been on this committee, but the nice part about being chairman is you can just break precedent all the time, or make precedent. I want to take a show of hands on the issue of a summit, because everyone in the room has had contact and has had experience with the value of personal contacts at the diplomatic level.

Before I do that, though, I would like to introduce another distinguished diplomat who represents a country that is very deeply divided, where communications are not good between some of their own people. He has seen what can happen in one country that has a division. Certainly the United Nations and this country and all countries that want peace in the world want to see that division resolved.

I am speaking of Ambassador Andrew J. Jacovides, the distinguished Ambassador from Cyprus. Could he stand up, please? [Applause.]

Now, may I ask this panel, all of you in the room, to respond, and I would like Merle and Donna Woodrow to vote as well, with a show of

hands. Would you favor, not immediately, but when an agenda can be adequately prepared, hopefully within a matter of months, say, by the end of this year, a meeting face to face with the two Chiefs of State of the Soviet Union and the United States of America?

All those who would, raise your right hand.

[A show of hands.]

The CHAIRMAN. All those who would oppose such a meeting, raise your right hand.

[A show of hands.]

The CHAIRMAN. Joan Braden still has her hand up. [Laughter.]

I am happy to acknowledge Joan Braden here also, and her relationship with the Council is a very meaningful and important one.

That is a unanimous vote, and I am going to report that to the National Security Council, to the President, and to the Secretary of State. I hope it will not prejudice anyone on the Council, but you do not depend on Government funds anyway.

Is there someone else whom you would like to have make any comments? We ought to wind this up by noon.

Yes, sir.

Mr. WOODROW. Senator Percy, being from Illinois, just a few miles from New Salem, the other night as I visited Abraham Lincoln's memorial—he sits up in that big chair, and you can see he is in deep thought, and I am sure he had just as much on his mind as President Reagan has today.

I wanted to make this statement: Of all the diplomats that had visited our farm, Abraham Lincoln was the President that they know the most about.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thank you very much indeed, Merle, for that comment. And, after all, it was Abraham Lincoln who established the Department of Agriculture, too. He really recognized the farmer.

Ms. WOODROW. Farming is still a very good business.

I would like to ask anyone from a foreign country who is here today to sign my paper over here on the desk that I have, and if I have enough seed-corn hats, they will receive a seed-corn hat, too.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Donna.

Anyone else, any other comments?

Mr. STOUTENBERG. I wanted to announce to the committee that we just learned this morning that, in cooperation with the Recreation Vehicle Association in this country that we have been able to secure from the Chase Family Motor Homes in San Francisco 17 motor home units for diplomats and their families this summer to go by wagon train, modern wagon train, across the Western part of the United States in two groups, a group that will go from San Francisco out to Great Falls and a group that will go back from Great Falls to San Francisco.

There is something about seeing the Western part of the United States in a wagon train, visiting the reservations, going to the ranches and the farms and meeting Americans and doing it with wives and with children that brings these groups of people very close together. They actually stay on the ranches and learn about the operations and they learn about family life in a way that, I think, bonds them together in an understanding that is simply good for people everywhere.

We are very pleased to have the cooperation of the Chase family and the Recreational Vehicle Association, represented here today by its president, David Humphrey, in putting forward this program. I remember when we were here in 1976 that one of the mandates that you urged upon us and that we have never been able to live up to, and are now, is to include spouses in the programs so that the nature of family life and family structure is communicated in both directions, both from other countries to this country and Americans to those countries, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much indeed.

We will keep the record open for a few days so that inserts can be made, if they would like to be made by other governments or other members of the committee or any of our distinguished audience who is with us today.

I would also like to indicate that we will begin the drafting of a Senate resolution which we will present jointly, myself and Senator Pell, to the committee and ask for its adoption by the committee, a commendation for the Council's outstanding work.

I will contact, also, Chairman Zablocki of the House Foreign Affairs and ask if either the House would like to do their own resolution or possibly a joint resolution, which would then go to the President for signature.

But we would like to just indicate our deep interest, our devotion to what you are doing, our full support and deep appreciation for the individual time, thought, energy, and effort that has been given, and our particular gratitude and appreciation to the many organizations, corporations, and others that have contributed through the years to make the work of the Council possible.

If there is no further business, the meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:53 a.m., the committee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

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